PROGRESSIVE PARTY CONVENTION SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT pp. 7-10

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The keynote was 'Work!'

The Progressives come of age at Chicago session

By Rod Holmgren
GUARDIAN Staff Correspondent

CHICAGO

"PEACE," "Freedom," "Jobs." Against those slogans on the stage backdrop, 1,146 Progressive Party delegates from 34 states held their second annual convention here Feb. 24-26. The slogans proclaimed it was the same party that was founded in Philadelphia less than two years before. But there was less of the "We're moving-into-the-White-House-tomorrow" atmosphere than at Philadelphia; much more close attention to the practical infighting of day by day U. S. politics.

There was a deep conviction that events were pushing this party to the center of America's political stage. "At this convention we strike the tents of our long and isolated winter at Valley Forge," was the way PP national secretary C. B. Baldwin put it.

Earl Dickerson, convention co-chairman and former member of FDR's Fair Employment Practices Commission, quoted Mordecai's question to Esther: "Who knoweth—whether thou art come to the kingdom for just such a time as this?"

"Our time is at hand," said Elmer Benson, PP chairman and former governor of Minnesota. And Paul Robeson, who on Saturday night sang "Joe Hill" as he can only sing it to an audience of fighting Joe Hills, said with equal simplicity on Friday: "This is our hour."

"I never died"—PP

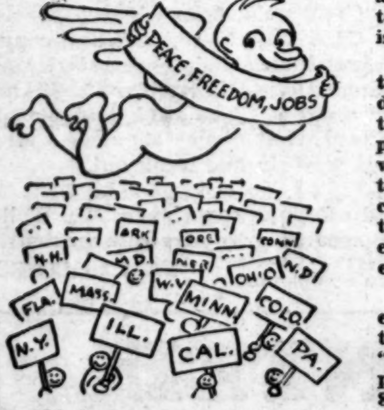
Sophisticated newsmen who flocked into Carmen's Hall to be on hand for the death of the party were disappointed and confused to find it very much alive. Rev. Archibald Carey, Republican candidate for Congress from Chicago's first district, suggested one way in which events were working on the Progressives' side: "I've seen FEPC killed in Springfield (Ill.) by Republicans. I've seen housing killed in Chicago by Democrats. And I've seen civil rights killed in Washington by both of them!"

It was a hard-working convention. In corridors and corners of the auditorium groups of up to 100 delegates gathered together, foregoing meals for the opportunity to meet fellow-progressives and find common ground. At one such caucus a former judge, now an elected county commissioner, swapped stories with a Slav-American miner. A big city lawyer could be seen in deep conversation with a steel worker, a clergyman with a member of the International Assn. of Machinists.

In another corner two elderly ladies, one the sister of a former Roosevelt cabinet member, argued with a seaman and a pre-med college student; a CIO official took literature from the president of a farmer's cooperative; an advertising man discussed FEPC with the secretary of one of the largest NAACP branches. A nuclear physicist in a corduroy jacket took notes on the record of his congressman from a member of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

The word from the people

Long lines of delegates appeared behind microphones in the four aisles during floor discussions of resolutions and program. And the delegates didn't use the mikes so much to debate as to relate their own hometown experiences fighting on issues.

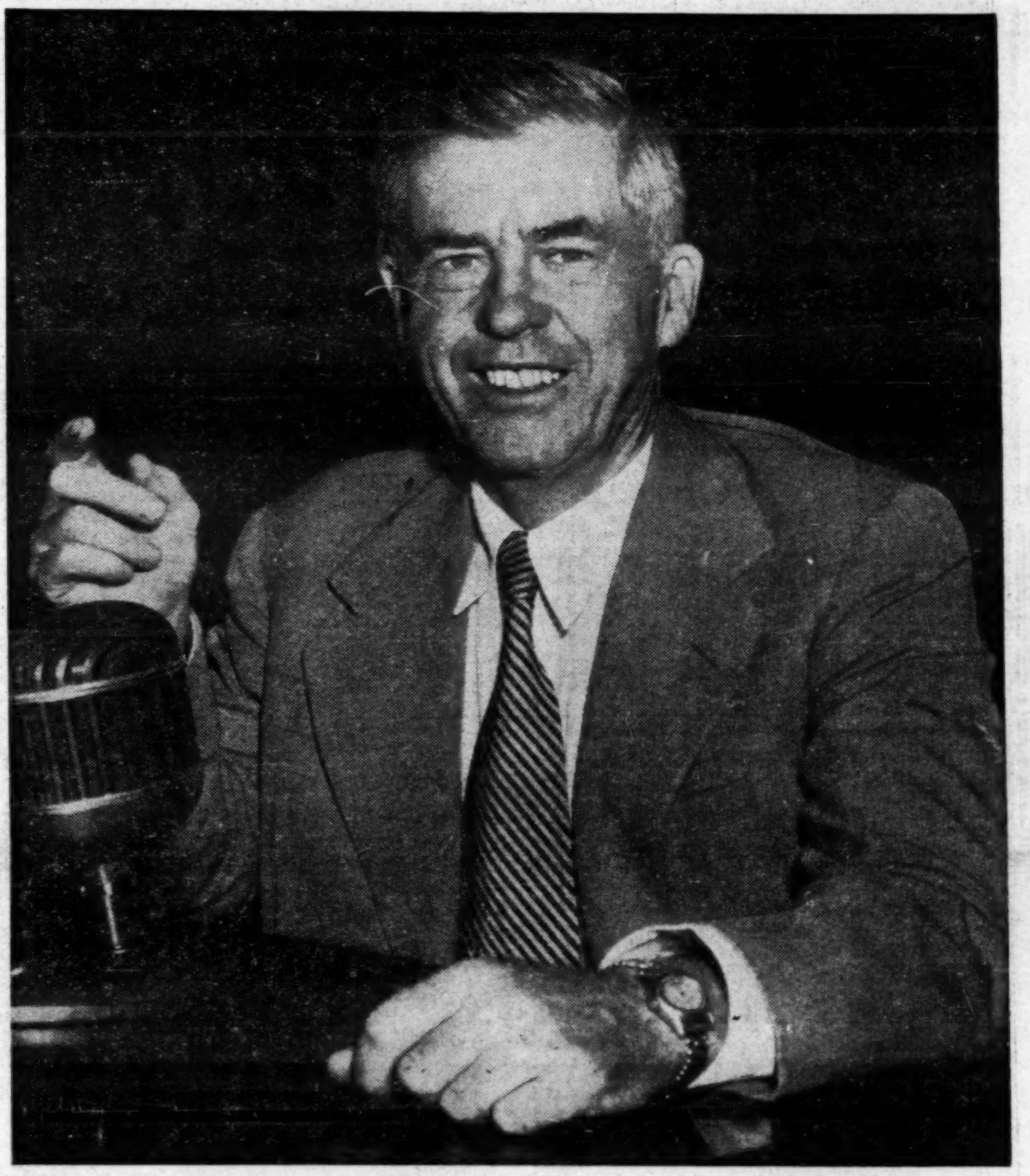


Typical was Helen Harris of the Bronx ALP, who didn't disagree with the rent-control section in the proposed program on housing, but who wanted the clause on evictions spelled out: "We simply cannot tolerate a single eviction!" And she proceeded to explain how the fight against evictions should be pressed.

Or Mike Stanovitch, western Pennsylvania miner, who talked about the coal strike. "Did you know the wages paid the coal miner represent 83c of the cost of a ton of coal?" And as he spoke of how miners' families were suffering, he added: "Just imagine, millions of tons of potatoes going to waste. Why, we could get along just fine on nothing but potato soup!"

The all-out aid being given striking miners by progressive organizations around the country was dramatized in a little ceremony Friday night. Hugh Bryson, convention co-chairman and president of the Marine Cooks & Stewards, presented a mountain of canned goods collected by Chicago Progressives and piled high on the stage to a delegation of 13 miners from Pennsylvania, Illinois and Colorado. Their spokesman, Edward Dombrowski of UMW Local 117 in Springfield, Ill., said: "A Party that comes out for the working people, the way our party does, will be the

(Continued on Page 16)



"Today events are on our side"
Henry A. Wallace at the Progressive Party Convention. (See p. 7)

Max Werner

The British crisis—and what it means

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Revolt in the NMU

The seamen fight to win their union back

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The leopard and us—a tale of our times

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[How many subs have you got this week?]

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newspaper

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THE MAILBAG

Lexington green

LEXINGTON, MASS.

A retired missionary has more friends than money. I am sending a check for $3 for three new subscriptions. The species with the protrudable neck is not as common here as in 1775.

Merlin W. Ennis

•

Two 6-yr.-olds talk

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Last week, driving with my daughter and grandson and his little friend (both six), we heard my grandson say: "Oh, I hope there won't ever be a war. War is so awful and people, even children, get killed. Or lose their legs or get blind, or something terrible."

Then his friend said: "But if it's a good war, then we won't mind so much, will we?" My little grandson, Richard Healey, answered: "But you know, you get killed just as dead in a good war, as in a bad one. So even though I'd rather fight in a good one for the people, I hope we don't have any wars at all, 'cause I don't want to get killed. And I don't think I'd like to kill any other boy, would you?"

The pain that gripped us to hear those little boys, already living with the dread and horror of "getting killed!" Of bombs and all the monstrous horrors conjured up by a few powerful and evil men to keep their foul profits rolling in! And no matter what untold misery for the people as a whole.

Barbara Nestor

•

Wallace is first

BRONX, N. Y.

Who gets the most applause at the Apollo Theatre on 42d St. where The Roosevelt Story is currently being shown? Henry Wallace, of course! Then comes Willkie; last, but very much the least, to get applause is Churchill.

Rebecca Jaffe

•

Not one hand

UPLAND, CALIF.

Perhaps the GUARDIAN would want to come to the rescue of Dr. Hermann L. Sander, the doctor of Goffstown, N. H., who is on trial in the mercy death case. This case recalls to me a conversation years ago with a surgeon friend. He stated that at a convention of physicians and surgeons the question was raised by one physician present on this mercy-death.

He put the question: "Is there a doctor present who has not administered mercy-death? Please raise your hand."

No one did.

Franklin Baxter

•

Dr. Dugan's poll

NEW YORK, N. Y.

May I point with quiet pride to the latest triumph of Dr. Dugan's giant research organization? The British election result was: Labor, 315; Conservative, 296. In the GUARDIAN of Feb. 22 Dr. Dugan gave Labor, 380; Conservative, 210.

I predicted in advance that my poll would be wrong. No other poll can make this claim.

James Dugan

•

No sale

ALTO, MICH.

Michigan is an old Republican stronghold. Today I had a stranger try to sell me tickets to a Republican banquet. Then he added, "You are a Republican, aren't you?" I replied that I most certainly was not and couldn't I sell him a subscription to the NATIONAL GUARDIAN.

Neither one of us did any business.

Ray Matthews

•

A people's world

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I am enclosing $5 for the GUARDIAN sustaining fund with a request that the Gautier-quoting Mr. Perry and the pure Mr. McManus offer an apology to the readers for their degrading references to women.

Certainly irresponsible "fast" men are more of a problem and better be herded with slow horses. And the "erudite" Mr. Perry should know that he can be judged by his quotes. I am sick and tired of the type. When will we ever have a people's world in place of a man's world?

G. G.

The rebuke was directed toward McManus' statement in our appeal to readers (Jan. 23) that our subsidy "had not been chucked away on fast women and slow horses." Perry, describing the feeling of many newspapermen toward their newspapers, quoted Gautier's Albert in "Mlle. de Maupin," saying of women: "I have loved them for what they have had of excellence, overlooking the rest." To G. G., our apologies for a thoughtless slur. To McManus and Perry, a pair of red male faces. Ed.

•

Girl with sharp eye

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Think your paper is the nuts. Have you any use for some verse? Wish it was dollar bills instead.

OBSERVATION

Those who love the status quo
Mostly have a lot of dough.

Carol Stevens

•

On our side

HARRISBURG, PA.

Gentlemen, enclosed find $2. I am fighting for the senior citizens for pensions. Lots are hungry and in need now. If you need help let me know, I will send a few more dollars for God is on your side and nothing will fail when God is for a cause.

Charles Kera Daron

•

Listening, Louie?

ANN ARBOR, MICH.

This is an excerpt from an open letter I sent to Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson:

Dear Mr. Johnson:

In the papers I read that you said to fellow alumni at the University of Virginia that we are ready to lick hell out of Russia "if she doesn't stay deterred." The just-try-and-start-something type of speech you made to your fellow grads for all the world to hear was the kind of bluster that an arrogant bully mouths when he feels that the other person is beginning to catch on to his bluff.

Mr. Johnson, you're the Defense Secretary. You have highballs with the brass and glory in the congenial company of the gold-braided admirals, the bomb-minded air force commanders, and the big-time contractors who supply the armed forces with instruments of death and destruction and take their profits in return. They'll like you for speeches like that you made at the University of Virginia.

But, Mr. Johnson, some people haven't forgotten that the only nation which has even been so barbaric as to use the A-Bomb without provocation on defenseless civilian populations is the U.S. And so your statements that we're ready for Joe Stalin "when he strikes," and that the H-Bomb is a "defensive" weapon, don't ring very true. In fact, your whole speech didn't ring very true, Mr. Johnson. It sounded like a voice screaming for blood on a quiet Sunday morning in a church where everyone kneels praying for peace.

Mr. Johnson, did you actually graduate from Jefferson's University of Virginia?

R. S.

•

Tough in Joplin

JOPLIN, MO.

Perhaps when the President said the "recession" is over he meant the "depression" has started. It sure looks like it here. Relief for unemployed able-bodied men and their families is non-existent here. What aid is available is very little and has to be begged for over and over.

Dorothy Cowen

•

Buck of the Month

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

My wife and I look forward to "our" paper whenever it is due. Our feelings have been expressed by thousands of your readers. Unfortunately, we cannot afford to be one of the 500 $10 per month contributors; however we will become one of what we hope will be 5,000 $1 contributors per month—beginning the first day of March, 1950, and ending the first day of December, 1950—value definitely received.

Julian & Asna Podgur

Up the Podgurs! Let the 5,000 roll in. Ed.

MORE OF THE SAME!

•

The beach battalions

BAY CITY, MICH.

As a dedicated but unheard voice crying in the wilderness of inertia I can advance only this hard-learned advice which I had beaten into me in the labor movement:

Many cry for the prophetic paradise to come; but the few fight for it. The victories of the people have left the shock troops dead in the ditches of triumph. Hence the original beach battalions who established the GUARDIAN must bear the chief burden of combat a little longer.

John J. O'Neil

•

The knife slipped

OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA.

In a recent issue of your publication you left the impression that the lines quoted by Senator Taft from Lord Byron:

> ". . . He was the mildest manner'd man
> That ever scuttled ship or cut a throat. . . ."

were applied by the poet to his character Don Juan. Actually, they were originally applied to Lambro, father of Haidee.

As a liberal, I cannot, of course, continue to support inaccurate publications and political movements. I am therefore transferring my support to the New Republic, the ADA, Mr. Truman and the Marshall Plan. . . .

Fantastic? Then you should hear some of the excuses the fair-weather "Liberals" offer in earnest nowadays, what with the cold war, the "loyalty" purges and the passing of fashionable progressivism.

M. O.

P.S.—If somebody in your office takes the above seriously and stops my subscription, I'll sue you! Here are 15 new subs.

•

Spirit for the lamp

NEWTONVILLE, MASS.

Check for $3 enclosed. Best I can do at this time. Been out of work for five months. What of it—we must keep the torch of freedom burning!

L. W. Marsh

Report to readers

Fill up the ranks of Guardian's army!

THE press run for this issue of the GUARDIAN, containing the first comprehensive report of the Progressive Party's deeply significant convention in Chicago, will be well over 100,000.

The total will include a basic GUARDIAN readership of 88,000 as this is written, plus new subscriptions and bundle orders reaching our mail room by press time.

To many communities, the GUARDIAN will bring the first real news of the Progressives' convention.

Therefore it is safe to assume that this issue of the GUARDIAN will be passed among many more hands than the above 100,000. Its contents will be read and discussed at meetings—it will be handed from neighbor to neighbor this week in more than 4,000 American communities.

You, yourself, will be discussing it with many people who are concerned as you are with the future of their country and the world in an H-bomb atmosphere.

You may be a regular GUARDIAN reader; you may be a progressive who has not yet subscribed; you may be seeing the GUARDIAN for the first time.

WHICHEVER you are, you will be interested in the remark of one delegate at the Chicago convention:

"Gideon's Army," he told the audience, "has become GUARDIAN's Army!"

But the big recruiting job remains to be done.

IF you are a subscriber, enlist your friends as subscribers when you discuss the convention with them. If you receive this paper from someone else, join us now and get those around you to join us too.

There is a handy subscription coupon on page 15; the price is the very lowest we can make it—$1 a year.

This minimum action NOW—by YOU—can mean more than anything else you personally can undertake to create a truly broad base of understanding of the importance of the progressive movement in America.

•

AND now — a word to the extra well-fixed among our readers: those of you who make $7,500 a year and up.

You have been noticeably and regrettably among the missing in the GUARDIAN's drive for finances during the last six weeks.

Among 8,000 responses received since our Jan. 23 appeal, you could put in your eye those amounting to $50 or more. The single big sum received is still $200; there have been a handful of $50 and $100 checks; but the average remains between $3 and $4.

Among the readers of this paper there are thousands of people who can scare up $100 each to assure our country at least one reliable, unwavering publication devoted solely to serving the American progressive movement.

We don't expect them all to respond, but if merely one in ten will (as at least one in ten of our low-income readers have!) there need be no more worrying over the future of GUARDIAN's Army—or of Gideon's Army either.

The whole staff of the GUARDIAN—editors and copyboy alike—is working for less than subsistence salaries to guarantee this paper the longest possible run for its life on the money sent us by our readers. The rank and file of GUARDIAN readers have sent what money they can spare and are now plugging for us week in and week out.

Can you do less?

Take that rubber band off your conscience, Mr. Well-Fixed. Let's hear from you according to your real means.

THE EDITORS

WANTED

500 pledges like this:

I pledge $10 a month for ten months to guarantee publication of NATIONAL GUARDIAN for the coming year.

Name ....

Address ....

$........ **herewith.**

WAR AND PEACE

The whole world wants peace

FROM all America and the world, millions of voices called last week to Harry Truman and the policy-makers in Washington: "Talk to the Russians!"

Letters of encouragement deluged Sen. Brien McMahon (D-Conn.), chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, who had proposed a UN Assembly session on the atom to be held in Moscow. His gesture carried with it suspicion that the Soviet government would not agree to such a meeting for fear that the Russian people would hear too much. Still, the very mention of peace talks by a top-level man in Washington was heartening.

In Chicago four atomic scientists concluded that if the hydrogen bomb could be built it could destroy the world and all the people on it. The **Catholic Worker** had this to say: "The best comment we can find is that of Juliana of Norwich, who wrote from her anchorhold back in the 12th century: 'All will be well, and all will be well, and all will be very well.'" The editorial closed by quoting from the Mass of the Dead.

PEACE WAITS WITHOUT: In the capitals of Europe and in Havana, Cuba, 15 men waited to come to the U. S. to plead for "ending the armaments race by an immediate reduction in war budgets and standing armies . . . a ban in atomic weapons." Headed by Pablo Picasso, generally considered the world's greatest living artist, the peacemakers were distinguished scientists, clergymen, legislators, artists and labor leaders of France, Britain, Cuba, the U. S. S. R., Belgium, Africa, Italy and Switzerland. They were being dispatched by the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace. Other peace missions were on their way to Russia, Mexico, Belgium, Britain, Holland, Italy, France.

In the U. S. a committee of 100 had been organized to welcome the peacemakers. It included Thomas Mann, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, atomic physicist Linus Pauling, pianist Arthur Schnabel, Lion Feuchtwanger, Prof. F. O. Matthiessen of Harvard, Rev. Walter Muelder, dean of Boston University School of Theology.

The State Dept. coldly looked over the list of peacemakers, branded them all "known Communists or fellow travelers" and refused them visas.

ROGGE TAKES OFF: At LaGuardia Field O. John Rogge, national committeeman of the Progressive Party, prepared to take off for Europe where he would join a peace delegation to Moscow. Writer Johannes Steel and artist Rockwell Kent already had left.

Reporters clustered around him. Here are some of their questions and Rogge's answers:

Reporter: "What makes you think the Russians want peace or that they'll listen to your proposals?"

Rogge: "At least they're letting us into their country to present the proposals. That's more than our government did with the delegation headed by Pablo Picasso."

Reporter: "Do you believe in working with Communists?"

Rogge: "There are a lot of Communists in the world. I don't see how we can have peace if we don't work with them."

Reporter: "Are you against our government's policy?"

Rogge: "I'm against H-bomb diplomacy.

Reporter: "And what are you for?"

Rogge: "I'm for working out some sensible compromise between America and Russia that will help keep peace in the world."

Reporter: "Oh, you prefer the Soviet policy to the American policy?"

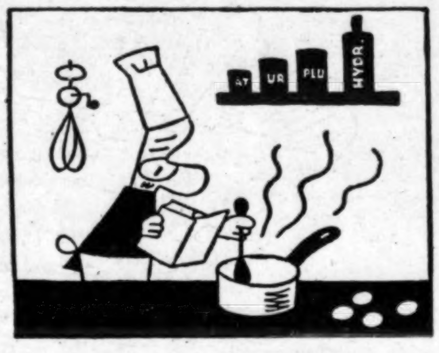
Rogge: "I prefer peace. I don't think that's only the Soviet policy. Americans and other people too want peace—no matter what the policies of our present administration."

Reporter: "Are you a Communist?"

Rogge: "No."

Reporter: "Then why are you going?"

Rogge: "I thought I answered that. I'm going because I want peace."



Canard Enchaine, Paris

BOOM PUDDING

"Take a neutron done up with hydrogen, slice some chilled atoms, the peel of cyclotron and blow up, then. . . ."

PEACE BOMBARDMENT: Humbler peacemakers in the U. S. worked busily, some by fasting, some by politics. The peace campaign went this way:

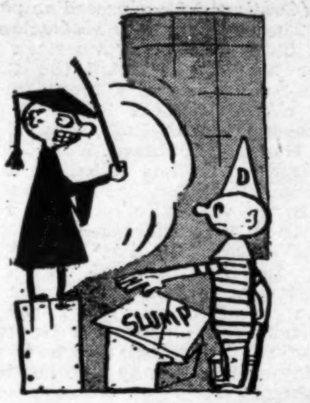
- In New York City's Community Church 150 people ended a 36-hour prayer vigil. Said their fasting minister, Rev. Donald Harrington: "We have been something of a curiosity. That people who show concern over the moral implications of the hydrogen bomb are regarded as subjects of curiosity is a sad comment on the world's desperate needs."
- Directors of the Board of Social Missions of the United Lutheran Church in America said in a memorandum to President Truman and Congress: "No nation has the right to use such a bomb, no matter how righteous its cause."
- Samuel Levering, speaking for the Quakers, told Congress: "We cannot too strongly urge the complete rejection of the point of view that peace with Russia rests solely on U. S. military strength."
- The National Peace Conference, representing 40 national organizations with 30,000,000 members, urged an arms truce and a world conference on atomic power.
- In New York's Congregation B'Nai Jeshurun, Rabbi Israel Goldstein said that the world needs a "B-plan to defeat the H-bomb—brotherhood to forestall hell on earth."
- Progressives returned from the Chicago convention, set about organizing the wards and precincts of the nation for peace.

BRITISH VOTE

"U. S. is eliminating the Socialists"

IN Memorial Hall, Faringdon St., London, where the Labor Party was born 50 years ago, 600 party stalwarts celebrated election victory. The jubilee meeting more nearly resembled a wake. Instead of the party song, the **Red Flag**, the audience mournfully sang Blake's **Jerusalem** before filing out into the cold night.

Labor had won—with a lead of only 7 over all other parties. The final vote gave Labor 315 seats, Conservatives 296, Liberals 9, Irish Nationalists 2, Independent Liberals 1. One seat remained to be filled in Manchester where the Conservative candidate died in mid-campaign. Defeated were all Communist candidates and the independent laborites including Konni Zilliacus, GUARDIAN correspondent.



Daily Worker, London

"Na, then, write 'socialism' 500 times."

"If the Labor Government has not yet been defeated, Socialism certainly has," proclaimed the **Sunday Times.** Labor Party leaders seemed to agree. They made known their determination to toss out the remnants of socialism associated with their policy. They were reported ready to abandon nationalization and the mutualization of insurance. Halting steel nationalization would require repealing the law recently passed to nationalize it by 1951.

DON'T UPSET U. S.: Some Labor backbenchers attributed the party's near-defeat to its failure to push socialism vigorously. Labor M.P. Richard Crossman charged his party with dodging the issues, adding that "the patriotic appeal to accept Socialist austerity in order to achieve complete independence of the U. S. A. was dismissed in order not to upset the Americans."

(Continued on following page)

For peace and liberty

A message to America

News of President Truman's decision to go ahead with production of the hydrogen bomb brought this call to Americans from the French Partisans of Peace, whose peace ballot had just been signed by 8,000,000 citizens of France.

CALLING upon their noblest traditions, we address ourselves to the men and women of the U. S. in the language of good sense and reason.

We know that your revolution came before ours, our Declaration of Rights followed your Declaration of Indepedence. Nor have we forgotten that your citizen soldiers crossed the Atlantic, once with Pershing, again with Eisenhower. But our common heritage will be wasted if we let the present trend continue.

The reports your news agencies are circulating in France of the destructive power of the hydrogen bomb have an effect which you presumably do not realize. America appears to us today in a frightening mask—in the shape of a terrible menace to our towns, our factories, our women, our children.

We know that some men and women among you are protesting, but the echo of their voices only reaches us when it is weakened and distorted.

THE time has come for a frank talk between the French people and the American people.

2 OCTOBRE
JOURNEE
INTERNATIONALE
DE LUTTE POUR
LA PAIX

THE PEACE BALLOT IN FRANCE

8,000,000 voices that cried "Peace!"

Our hearts are wrung by the sight of a chasm growing between the two coasts of the Atlantic, which promises soon to become unbridgable. Certain newspapers will no doubt tell you that the Frenchmen who write you today are Moscow-controlled.

Nazi governments have always made the same kind of accusations against citizens who want to remain free; under cover of these accusations, they have decimated millions and millions of human beings in gas chambers.

The horrors evoked by your politicians recall that tragedy of humanity for which France is still mourning: the disaster of Hitlerism.

As taxpayers you pay millions of dollars to feed the state of suspicion toward the men and women of our country who are the best friends of peace and of the American people. After giving us a false idea of America, that propaganda gives you a false idea of France. Thus your money is used to deceive both our peoples.

IT is time for all of us to get together and join our efforts.

Will you, men and women of the U. S., silence those among you who are threatening the most ghastly havoc, starting with destruction of our civilization?

Will you demand outlawing of the atomic bomb and renunciation of these weapons of mass destruction?

The world cannot live under the threat and in preparation of a total and degrading war. Each people wants to choose its own way in the pursuit of happiness.

You cannot ignore the petition addressed to President Truman by 1,200,000 Frenchmen who have refused to subscribe to the obligations of the Atlantic Pact.

You cannot turn a deaf ear to the resounding vote for a peace which, in France, received 8,000,000 ballots.

Our present campaign for outlawing the atom bomb coincides with the protest of your atomic scientists.

IN a few days, on March 10, 11, 12, great meetings for peace and liberty will take place in France. We wish you could see with your own eyes the unshakeable will of the French people.

But if you cannot join us in this fraternal discussion, add your voices to this protest from the conscience of France—at this moment when your generals and businessmen, by their own excesses and their threats, are risking the friendship of two peoples without which there cannot be peace.

Permanent National Commission
of the Partisans of
Peace and Liberty.

(Continued from preceding page)

The French paper **Liberation** made this blunt analysis: "American policy, after having eliminated the Communists from power in western Europe, is now eliminating the Socialists. It has succeeded well in Italy, France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, West Germany. In England, it has failed by a hair's breadth. But if the Socialists have won a difficult victory, moreover a relative one, they have undergone a great, absolute defeat. . . . The Labor government hid international realities and the problems of peace and war which weigh on all of us. The Labor Party very nearly lost power for having forgotten that the Socialists have a role to play and an enemy who lies in wait for them."

THE PEACE VOTE: Churchill's surprise proposal for peace talks with Russia was also a factor. GUARDIAN's Gordon Schaffer said that if Anthony Eden, more respected than Churchill, had made the appeal, "he would have won many votes and might have turned the election."

Schaffer continued: "The main battles in Parliament will be on demands for cuts in food subsidies and social services. In the background is the threat of Paul Hoffman, Marshall Plan Administrator, to cut Marshall aid to those countries refusing to accept 'integration' of western Europe's economy. Sir Stafford Cripps has opposed this move.

"The British people would react sharply to any attempt by the U. S. to bring pressure. At any election meeting references to the need to become independent of the U. S. was always certain to bring applause."

NOW OR NEVER: "Another problem in the background is the wage freeze. This was accepted by a narrow majority because leaders of some of the big unions considered the policy necessary to election victory.

"Now, with the certainty of increased prices and the knowledge that a general election with the balance tilted in favor of the conservatives is likely within a few months, many unions are likely to take the line that concessions must be obtained now or lost for years."

When you buy a product advertised in this paper, say: "I saw it in the GUARDIAN."

FARM

MARCH ON CAPITAL

Midwest's farmers stage a revolt

SINCE Jan. 20 dirt farmers have been rolling into Washington at the rate of more than 200 a week to tell congressmen what they want. They signaled a full-scale farm revolt throughout the midwest.

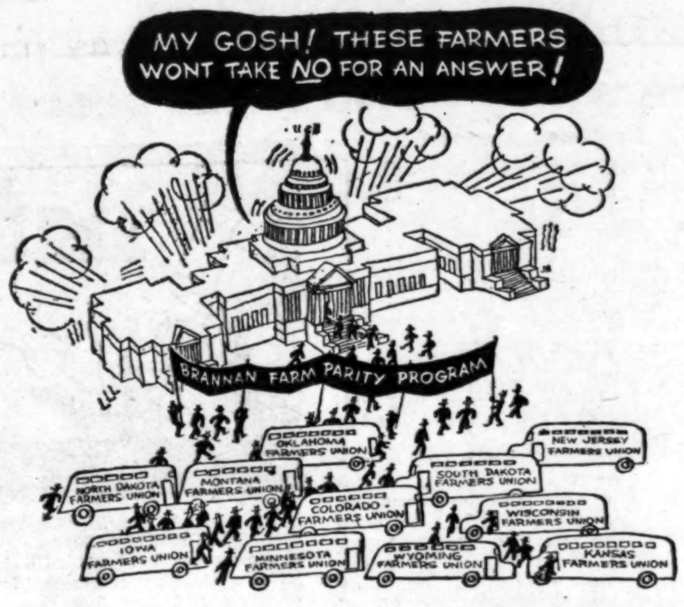
The delegations were organized by the National Farmers Union, not the largest farm organization in the country but the toughest and the only one fighting for 100% parity income for the family-sized farm. The marches on Washington came just before the Farmers Union national convention opened March 5 in Denver, Colo.

FARMERS TO CONGRESS: Farmers Union people had four things to tell their representatives: (1) pass the Brannan Plan; (2) divorce the reactionary Farm Bureau from the government-supported Extension Service; (3) develop a full-scale Missouri Valley Authority; (4) defeat Senate Bill S1008 which would put purchasing cooperatives out of business.

Delegations came from the Dakotas, Montana, Minnesota, Colorado, Oklahoma, Iowa, Kansas, Wyoming, Wisconsin, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and New York.

What did the farmers learn from their talks with lawmakers? Said Fred Stover, fighting president of the Iowa Farmers Union and a co-chairman of the Progressive Party: "All of us came away with the definite feeling that something has to be done if our government is to represent the people as it is supposed to do, particularly the farm people of the livestock belt who have been left out of the present from program. We have rolled up our sleeves for the duration, and you will be hearing from us again before 1950 is over."

THE BIG LESSON: Stover recalled that "there was a time back in the thirties when some Iowa farmers attempted the solution of their problems with a farm strike and even with coils of rope under their overcoats at a foreclosure sale. We have been trying to prevent having such times again."



National Union Farmer

The FU march on Washington has Congress jumping.

Homer L. Ayres, farm writer for **Federated Press**, had this to say of delegates' reactions: "Before they left Washington they learned that despite the Democratic ballyhoo in the countryside about the Brannan Plan, none of the lawmakers in Washington was pushing it and few knew much about it . . . The big lesson was that farmers got in Washington only what they were organized back home to demand."

BRANNAN VS. BUREAU: But if Democrats in Washington weren't pushing the Brannan Plan, Agriculture Secretary Brannan was. On Feb. 18 he went to Des Moines to attend the 12th annual Farm Institute sponsored by the Des Moines Chamber of Commerce.

There, before an audience of more than 4,000, Brannan made a devastating attack against Allan B. Kline, president of the large, powerful and reactionary American Farm Bureau Federation. Never before had a national administration dared to break with the Bureau. To dirt farmers it made history.

This was a sample of Brannan's onslaught: "I would like to ask the gentleman: do you think it fair to your own members to be openly favoring still lower price supports for farmers in the harsh hope of forcing some of them out of business, so that farming can be more profitable for those big-scale farmers with large cash reserves who are able to survive?"

BEHIND THE REVOLT: Behind this epic clash, behind the brewing farm revolt, behind the delegations to Washington was this cold fact: U. S. farm income is down 23% since the 1947 peak, is due to drop another 10% in 1950 unless legislation like the Brannan Plan reverses the trend.

At Denver Charles Brannan was to be featured guest speaker of the Farmers Union convention. To him would be presented a gold medallion, the union's Award for Outstanding Service to American Agriculture in 1949.

Brannan had a basic concept which sounded good to small dirt farmers and to consumers alike: "We want to learn and must learn to live with our abundance."

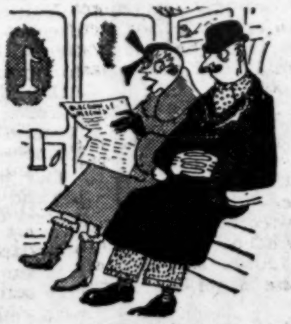
Max Werner

Britain in crisis

BRITAIN'S parliamentary crisis is a lasting one since there is no remedy against the unstable balance between the Labor Party and the Conservatives. The Conservative Party in the opposition is strong enough to hamstring a Labor government; the Labor Party in opposition would be strong enough to disable a Conservative government. From now on Britain faces an era of weak governments and strong oppositions.

In Britain economic policy, foreign policy and military policy belong in the same inseparable package. With a new economic crisis approaching, an adjustment of foreign and military policies to the economic pressures is inevitable. But in what direction will it be carried out?

One thing is clear: Britain cannot have both now—a high military budget and the social services as fixed under Attlee's first cabinet. Aneurin Bevan, Labor's man of destiny and sometime in the future the Party's leader and Prime Minister, is for the cut in military budget. As Health Minister responsible for the new Health Service and housing program, he knows that the best health services are of no use if the country can be threatened by atomic extermination, and that any housing project is peanuts compared with the destruction range of the atomic weapons. Already anti-atomic defenses would bankrupt Britain.



Daily Express, London

"Darling, doesn't it strike you as rather sinister that nobody made any effort to attract the upper-class vote?"

EXPLODING DREAMS: The competition between welfare and warfare costs goes far beyond the struggle for maintenance of social services. A deep crisis of British military policy is implied.

If the controversy between welfare and warfare is publicly vented, the entire military policy must come to a discussion. The Labor Party stand will be extremely strong because the Conservatives have no worked-out program for rearmament. Asking for negotiations with Moscow, Churchill acknowledged that **in the atomic age Britain cannot have a military policy and a military solution.** Churchill demanded an international political solution, not rearmament, and the Conservatives can hardly reverse his stand, since they ask all the more for tax cuts.

So, if this big debate of welfare against warfare comes in Britain, three military self-deceptions will be exploded: the U. S. illusion about Britain, the British illusion about the U. S., and the British illusion about Britain.

HAUNTED BY TRUTH: The U. S. illusion about Britain is that England is the leading Western European military power and the British Isles can again smoothly function as the main base; the British illusion about the U. S. is that America can supply all Western Europe with military power adequate for defense; and the British illusion about Britain is that Britain is still a major military power possessing freedom of military action. Yet Churchill knows that these are illusions, and the British voters all know it too.

The misunderstanding about the Atlantic Pact will be cleared. The Atlantic Pact was asked for as a Western European pact, as a pact for defense of Western Europe by the U. S. and Britain. Yet militarily it is **not** being planned this way. If U. S. strategy refuses to defend Western Europe with American armies, then British policy-makers will certainly not think of the deployment of the British army over the size of two divisions.

Knowing all this, and being haunted by the monster of the H-Bomb, Churchill refuses to set up a program for British rearmament. The logical consequence of the course taken by Churchill in the election campaign is no less than the **factual neutralization of Britain.** It is merely recognition of the fact that Britain cannot be defended effectively by war, but has to be defended by peace only.

Not Churchill or Aneurin Bevan, but the A-Bomb and the H-Bomb, have created a situation in which neutralization refers no longer only to Switzerland or Sweden, but to France and Britain.

LABOR

MINE WORKERS

Solidarity wins

LEGISLATION, writs, newspaper blasts, the threat of military seizure were ineffectual against the monumental solidarity of 400,000 coal miners.

The simple truth was that the Taft-Hartley Law cannot dig coal. Miners can. In the end the miners got approximately $1.40 more per day, 70c of it in direct wage raise. It dwarfed any labor victory since the war.

WE ALL WON: The coal-miners were not the only ones who won. The rank and file of the whole labor movement sensed in the early days of the fight that Taft-Hartley could be broken on the granite resistance of the miners. The injunction forbade the mine union to accept strike relief, so people sent truckloads of food, clothing and medical supplies directly into the coal towns. The truckloads were the price many workingmen and women paid for the victory. The miners, who had gone hungry, paid more.

(Continued on following page)

NMU rank-and-file leads the way for labor

The seamen fight to win their union back

By Elmer Bendiner

AT the top of three flights of steep stairs is a door that's always locked. A man must look over each visitor before letting him in. (There is always the chance of a sudden rush by men swinging bricks and bats.) Inside there is a bare loft with folding chairs and a few tables lining the walls.

It is the New York headquarters of the Rank-and-File Committee of the National Maritime Union. It may well be the point where U. S. labor hits the come-back trail.

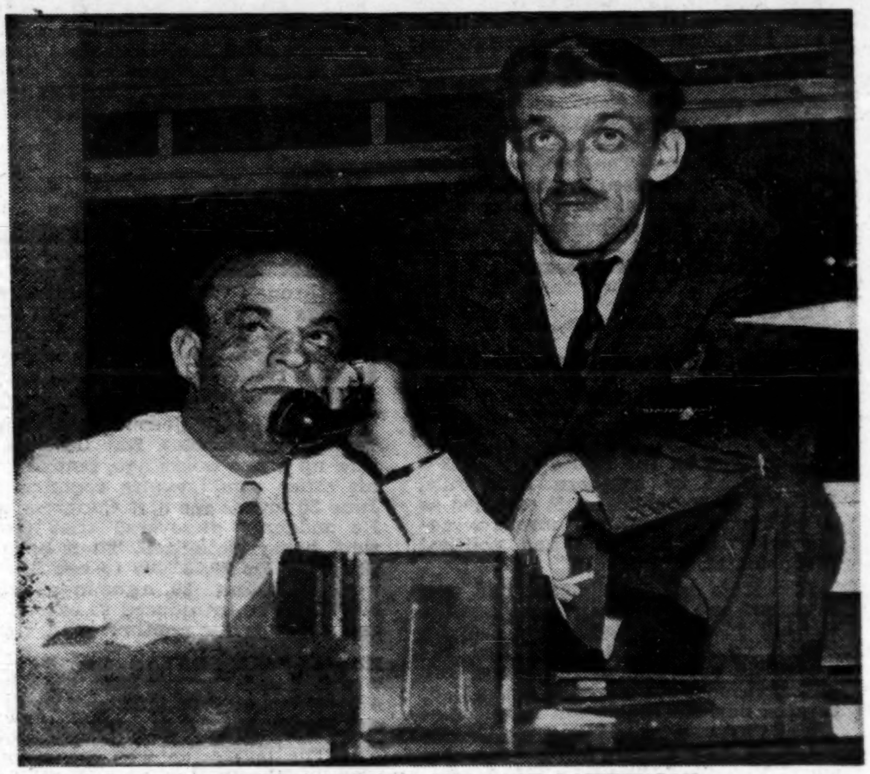
The National Maritime Union is a pillar of the CIO. President Joseph Curran is a CIO vice-president. As such he has pledged NMU to push the cold war. But his job is tough because of all fields the cold war has most immediately affected the maritime industry. The shutting off of trade with eastern Europe and China means idleness in the ports. Right now there are three seamen for every job.

Curran can't solve that one within the framework of cold warfare. It cannot be solved by use of the cold war's weapons to which Curran is also committed: soft talk for Washington and the shipowners, brass knuckles for the membership, and a howling red scare.

ALL TOGETHER: In each of his sharp turns away from the rank-and-file origins of NMU, Curran has lost some of his support. Some men dropped away early in the swing to the right, others more recently. Late in February all who had dropped away from Curran joined hands. All factions merged.

About 200 rank-and-file delegates came together in New York's Tom Mooney Hall. They had to interrupt their deliberations to beat off an attack by Curran's men. Some 80 Curran followers came by car and on foot. They carried milk can covers, bricks, tire irons and blackjacks. They smashed the glass doors, but a lookout had warned the delegates who streamed down the stairs to meet the attackers in the lobby.

When it was over the lobby was spattered with blood and broken glass. Police wagons took a handful of Curran men away. Ambulances took others. Then the delegates resumed their work. They worked out a program and set up committees. Robert Patrick McElroy, a rank-and-filer with 20 years of sailing behind him, was picked to head the slate to oppose the Curran machine in the union elections in June.



JOSEPH CURRAN AND JACK LAWRENSON
The question is: Brass knuckles or trade union democracy?

TEST OF STRENGTH: The strength of the rank-and-file could not be measured by their resistance to physical attack. Around rank-and-file headquarters they gauge their strength this way: San Pedro and San Francisco, Boston and Baltimore are solid behind the rank-and-file. The Great Lake ports and the rivers are with them too. Curran's strength lies in the Gulf ports where anti-Negro and anti-Puerto Rican elements swing behind him and where the Negro and the progressive dare not talk too openly on the piers.

Rank-and-file strength was best measured when Curran tried to oust Jack Lawrenson from his post as NMU vice-president. All the elements of a Curran election were there. "Masters-at-arms" with police records a mile long stood in the aisles shoulder to shoulder with cops, watching the vote. But the men voted 902 to 829 against Curran's attempt to oust Lawrenson, and he still serves as vice-president of the NMU while leading the rank-and-file.

DIRECT ACTION: Curranites, having lost the vote, took to more direct methods.

At 9:30 one evening a car drew up at Lawrenson's home. Two men stayed in the car, two others stepped out and rang Lawrenson's bell. He opened the door, then quickly shut it again: he recognized two of Curran's "masters-at-arms." In another room Lawrenson's wife, Helen, was putting their two children to bed: Johanna, 8, and Kevin, 3.

They all heard the banging on the door; the threats to kill Jack Lawrenson, the shouts: "Come outside, you bastard. Come outside, you son-of-a-bitch." Then they used their weapons to bash in the heavy wire screens and the iron grill work at the windows. They kept it up for five minutes but were gone before the police arrived.

When Lawrenson told the GUARDIAN of the attack he added: "I'm going to get myself a shot-gun."

RANK-AND-FILE PROGRAM: In the war that must rage in all the ports of the country until June, this is the program of the rank-and-file:

- **Keep the hiring halls.** The Supreme Court has recently upheld a lower court ruling that would toss out the orderly, fair rotation system of hiring, and substitute for it the jungle law which lets a shipowner hire off the wharves, reward the scab and blacklist the union man. Curran says: Let the crews refuse to serve with a non-union man hired off the wharves. But such a man could force a ship to take him on by appealing to the Natoinal Labor Relations Board. Curran has no answer to that. The rank-and-file have. They say: Strike now in every port to save the hiring hall.
- **Return U. S.-owned ships to the U. S. flag.** U. S. money has transferred ships to foreign registry to avoid U. S. high standards of working conditions and sanitation. On foreign routes there are more U. S.-owned ships under foreign flags than under the U. S. flag. Curran says: Stop the transfers. The rank-and-file points out that the damage has already been done. To give U. S. seamen the jobs they need on U. S.-owned vessels the demand must be: Return U. S. ships to the U. S. flag.
- **Trade with all countries that will trade with us, including eastern Europe and China.** Resumption of pre-war trade could produce jobs for 45,000 seamen. If trade were expanded as eastern Europe and China want, many thousands more could be employed. Curran is wedded to the cold war even if it means joblessness on the docks.
- **Restore democracy to NMU.** No more masters-at-arms, rigged votes, dumping or expulsions of oppositionists. No more jimcrow.

To this last demand as to all others, Curran offers only the cold war, the red scare and brass knuckles.

(Continued from preceding page)

The settlement with northern, western and southern mine operators came swiftly after Federal Judge Richmond B. Keech ruled that the miners had refused to work not on the orders of John L. Lewis nor the United Mine Workers but in accord with a resolute tradition: no contract, no work.

To Arthur Krock of the N. Y. **Times**, Lewis made several things clear: profits of coal operators rose from $34 per miner in 1939 to $733 in 1948; honest collective bargaining by the real mine owners, rather than the use of Taft-Hartley, could quickly solve all problems; Lewis's "power" rests entirely in the workers—"when they think I am right they follow me."

DISTRIBUTIVE WORKERS

A union is born

IN 1948 the CIO Department Store Employees Union split up. Eight locals continued to organize and protect their membership in New York City's department stores and wholesale houses.

Last month the eight, joined by a Chemical Workers unit, formed a new, independent union—the Distributive Workers—representing 32,000 workers. They set organizing, industry-wide security and a hiring hall as their first objectives. The DWU is headed by Arthur Osman, president of Local 65, Wholesale and Warehouse Workers Union.

Other labor

THESE were some other major developments in labor:

RAIL FACT-FINDING: By March 1, 850,000 trainmen and conductors and 100,000 telephone workers had been scheduled to strike. The trainmen are demanding a 40-hour week instead of the present 48 hours, with no reduction in pay and improved working conditions. The companies refused to consider the demands and made no counter-proposal.

President Truman, acting under the National Railway Labor Act, appointed a fact-finding board. The board will take 30 days. The unions cannot strike for at least 30 days after the facts are in. The Act in the past has inhibited strikes altogether.

COST OF AUTOS: Walter Reuther set a pattern last year when he signed a contract tying the wages of General Motors workers to a cost-of-living index. Last week GM officials consulted the index and accordingly cut wages 2c an hour. The union, its hands tied, could only protest that the cut was '"morally indefensible." GM profits last year were $600,000,000.

RAIDERS AT WORK: The CIO set up machinery for its war against the progressive unions it expelled. The Government and Civil Employees Organizing Committee was assigned to move in on the United Public Workers. At its head were Anthony J. Federoff, an ex-miner, and Milton Murray, forme president of the American Newspaper Guild.

Not one officer of the new committee is Negro. One third of UPW's membership is Negro. Of the 28 executive board members on UPW, seven are Negroes. The union had just broken through a barrier of discrimination in the federal Bureau of Engraving by winning upgrading for Negro veterans. The fight had been long and had rallied white Bureau workers to the support of the Negroes. CIO top leadership had tried to soft-pedal the issue for fear of embarrassing the White House. The CIO raiders' entrance was badly timed.

The Food, Tobacco and Agriculture Workers were to be the target for a three-pronged attack by the Packinghouse Workers, the Brewery Workers and the Transport Service Employees.

HAPPY BIRTHDAY: The New York Typographical Union, known as Big Six, began the year-long celebration of its 100th birthday. When Horace Greeley founded the union in 1850 the life expectancy of a printer was 28 years after he went to work. It is now 60 year.

THE ARKANSAS FIGHT: Less and less people in Little Rock were reading the **Arkansas Gazette** as CIO Newspaper Guild workers went into the third month of their strike. Scab writers and editors busily turned out a paper to which irate Newspaper Guild supporters sent cancellation of subscriptions.

The union, fighting for bargaining recognition, filed these unfair labor practice charges with the National Labor Relations Board: hiring and firing based on questioning about union sympathies, threats of fines and imprisonment for joining a strike, bribing of workers with offers of personal advancement to desert the Guild.

Don't file your GUARDIAN away after reading it. Mail it to some friend in a simple, open-end wrapper with a 1c stamp—and enlist another subscriber.

POLITICS

WASHINGTON WITCHES

Acheson subversive?

POLITICAL repercussions of the Alger Hiss case rumbled around Secretary of State Dean Acheson, as the diplomatic cold-warrior who quotes the Bible but won't talk about peace went to Capitol Hill Feb. 28 to discuss his budget with a Senate appropriations sub-committee. Hardly a Senator was interested in operations or expenditures. The obsession with "communists" and "security risks" was such that it was implied even the Secretary himself was one of the latter.

Following Acheson's earlier statement that he would not turn his back on Hiss, Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R-Wis.) had demanded and got—with Democratic acquiescence—a Senate investigation of communism in the State Dept. McCarthy's charge that at least 57 Communists were employed was denied. In two years, said the Dept., 202 people had been dropped as security risks; 91 were said to be homosexuals who might be blackmailed by spies.

RED GREAT-AUNT: In an atmosphere charged with bitterness and tension, Acheson said it was a "humiliation" for him to have to say "what should be obvious": that he did not condone Hiss's alleged actions and would not sanction disloyalty.

One McCarthy target was a White House research expert whose late great-aunt (she died in 1941) was once listed as part-owner of the **Daily Worker.**

Other Washington witch-hunts developed along these lines:

- When the House passed a bill to establish a National Science Foundation to promote welfare through research, it tacked on amendments providing that no-one could be associated with it without "absolute loyalty clearance" by the FBI.
- The Mundt-Nixon Bill of 1948 was secretly repackaged as the Mundt-Ferguson-Johnston Bill of 1950. Content was the same: police-state methods to put dissenters in prison. Its core was to give a three-man board vast powers to outlaw and prosecute any individual or organization deemed "subversive."

The Senate Judiciary Committee approved the bill eight to one. Sen. William Langer (R-S.D.) was the one opposed. The bill now goes to the Senate for debate. The earlier Mundt-Nixon Bill was passed by the House but died in the Senate. Chief factor in its death was mobilized popular sentiment. Progressives would have to dig in now to beat back the new assault.

FEPC

Southern delight

FOR 15 hours, starting late in the afternoon of Feb. 23, the fight for a Fair Employment Practices Commission was on the House floor. FEPC was bashed by southern Democrats, buffeted by Republicans; it emerged as a bedraggled, toothless measure acceptable only to bigots and political Milquetoasts.

Dixiecrats and Republicans had won a violent battle of amendment against the bill offered by Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D, ALP-N. Y.). They had removed all enforcement provisions, left only a vacuous statement that the U. S. favored non-discrimination in hiring.

When the pro-real-FEPC Democrats caucused, they decided to recommit the bill to committee, fight all over again. But when the time for voting came, Reps. Powell and Vito Marcantonio (ALP-N. Y.) were left to fight alone. The toothless bill was passed. Registered against the McConnell substitute were 134 Democrats, 42 Republicans and Marcantonio.

THE YES-BUT BOYS: Democrats like Rep. Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. (N.Y.), who voted for the emasculated substitute, justified their stand on the ground that a voluntarily law was better than no law at all; they wanted the test to come in the Senate.

There a new battle was shaping up. Supporters of a strong FEPC planned to fight for the original bill by invoking new rules to cut off a southern filibuster. Sen. Robert A. Taft (R-Ohio) was ready with a substitute similar to McConnell's.

As Marcantonio had warned, everybody seemed to want FEPC as an issue, hardly anyone in Congress wanted it as a forceful law. Dixiecrats had won the day. Republicans could say they voted for FEPC. But Fair Dealers who approved the massacre had no principle left to stand on.

RENTS

Liquidators' race

WHEN the 80th Congress was through with rent controls, the ceilings were peppered with holes. States, cities and Federal Housing Expediter Tighe Woods all had power to remove controls. Rents shot up 50%, 100%, even 200%.

Woods himself decontrolled with the best of the lobbies. But he began to slow up a few weeks ago, realizing that his office would expire completely on June 30 unless the 81st Congress acted. He suddenly discovered that tenants were being victimized. Then he asked Congress for $3,600,000 to continue his work until June 30, announced that a bill would be introduced to extend federal controls for another year.

HALLELUJAH DAYS: On Feb. 25 Woods faced the pay-off: the Senate Appropriations Committee voted to give him only enough money to dismiss his staff, denied him funds to continue enforcement even until June 30. Some senators said decontrol had gone so fast that there was no point in spending more money. Others indicated the action meant no more rent control after June 30. "Hallelujah!" cried Sen. Charles W. Tobey (R-N.H.). "Let the states handle it from now on!"

President Truman said he wanted controls extended, would fight in Congress. On local battlefields tenants' organizations were putting up a stiff fight. Their representatives from 28 states and 30 cities formed a National Tenants Organizing Committee in Chicago last week to fight for strong federal regulation. The new group will call a national conference soon.

FREEDOMS

DEPORTATIONS

Hysteria curbed

". . . Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to
breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming
shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost
to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door."

From **The New Colossus** by Emma Lazarus, engraved on the base of the Statue of Liberty.

THE tempest-tost who read a leftist paper, who join a leftist club, who know a man who joins a leftist club, are a prime target in the government's domestic cold war. Inspectors of the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Dept. of Justice have presided over hundreds of "hearings" and tossed many non-citizens, some with American families, right out the "golden door."

On Feb. 20 the U. S. Supreme Court took a long look at Justice Dept. methods and called them illegal. In a 7-1 decision read by Justice Robert Jackson, the court said: "When the Constitution requires a hearing it requires a fair one, one before a tribunal which meets at least currently prevailing standards of impartiality."

TO BE HOPED: Effect of the decision was to halt illegal hearings all over the country and to force retrials of cases in the mill.

Abner Green, executive secretary of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, welcomed the "victory for democratic processes." "The indecent haste of the service," he said, "in rushing hearings of non-citizens, denying them due process in deportation proceedings, could have been for no other reason but to whip up hysteria and intimidation . . . It is to be hoped that now all [cases] will be canceled and non-citizens afforded the right of freedom of speech and thought guaranteed by the Bill of Rights."

CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

Anniversary heat

ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS
What constitutes a danger?

ON Feb. 22 the American Civil Liberties Union celebrated its 30th anniversary with all-day talks, topped off by a dinner honoring retiring director Roger Baldwin and his successor, Patrick Malin.

To panel audiences the debates were new testimony to the spirit of controversy which has kept ACLU at the center of vital national arguments. Speaking on "Communists and the Bill of Rights," Louis Waldman, a labor lawyer, urged the ACLU to "line up with the government" to fight the "fifth-column" threat.

He said: "The cry that Communists are deprived of civil rights today is synthetic and untrue . . . Judge Medina deserves a medal for the patience he

(Continued on Page 11)

Jennings Perry

The gentle man-eater

LAST week even the cold war was interrupted in American public interest by the escape of a leopard probably named Spot from the Oklahoma City zoo. Four days of such a thrill! Millions of us habituated to stopping up for the midnight bulletins on the spy-hunt got instead the latest on the leopard-hunt. The news came in the same ecstatic accents, bidding for alarm, commanding the alert.

The Marines had been called out . . . the home guard had been mobilized . . . the Army was rushing reserves (of lion hounds) by helicopter. As far as St. Louis householders looked to their firearms and locked their pets in the basement. All over the U. S. people going out at night peered anxiously at any movement in the shadows.

IT was like old times. It was like the new times. It is hard to tell whether our titillation drew more from ancient fears or from the new fears. There was a wide overlapping.

We thought of the wild beast that used to leap at us with blazing eyes and unfleshed claws from the circus posters; we thought of the enemy, lurking to destroy us by espionage, sabotage and subversion, whose presence is borne upon us each day by the headlines in the prints. Child and man, we have been conditioned to tremble at these alarms.

It was sufficient that the leopard was not native born but a foreigner: "less than 60 days out of the jungle"—and therefore incapable of appreciating our civilization, capable of all dastardy. He was, we reminded ourselves by press and radio, a "man-eating beast."

In sum, we had loose among us the incarnation of all the terrors of the night our imaginations have nurtured since we crawled out of the caves. I think it must be said that the old form of our fears triumphed temporarily over the new form of our fears, and that the break can be instructive.

FOR that reason I am glad the Marines did not get to shoot this particular leopard and add him to their war chant after the halls of Montezuma and the shores of Tripoli. That would have been only another victory, another overcoming by "right and might" for the historians to celebrate forever. As it is, with Old Spot dead from dietary complications after returning to his cage of his own accord (pussyfooting back to his missus and vittles in the small hours like any Oklahoma rake), we can reexamine our scare and see just the size of what we managed to be frightened by.

I do not mean that the leopard in question was entirely an amiable fellow, filled with respect for our laws and conventions and devoted to our form of government, but that obviously he was not as bad as he had been painted. The circus had billed him as a "man-eater" for box-office reasons and our fancy has taken it from there. Actually this overgrown cat, even on a prowl for provisions, would have preferred a pig to a person, and would have fled from any child protesting his company with as much as a twig.

We know this now that the story has played out, and we knew it before. But while the air and the press were full of it, we were half-convinced of surrounding danger, of national emergency, and sweated a little for our personal security.

IT is good for us to realize how absurd all this was, and to turn our understanding upon other much-publicized menaces of the day.

Some of these are offered to our horror for political reasons and have been cultivated in our minds by quite unscrupulous alarmists. If we have not seen spies under our beds and traitors in the shrubbery, it is not because we have not been rallied to see them everywhere.

One day, when this hysteria too shall have subsided, we shall be as sheep-faced about it as last week's mighty leopard-hunters had a right to be when Old Spot, with no man-meat in his maw whatever, simply wandered home to breakfast on doped horse.

THE 1950 PROGRESSIVE PARTY CONVENTION

Henry A. Wallace

We can win a campaign for peace

Excerpts from Henry A. Wallace's speech to the Progressive Party convention, Chicago, February 24:

FOR two years the Progressive Party has been actively at work.

No people have ever given more unselfishly and more richly of their time and substance than those who believed so overwhelmingly in the cause for which we fought in 1948. Our founding convention at Philadelphia was probably the most honest, most genuinely democratic political convention ever held.

With profound religious conviction we fought for peace at the polls. Politically we lost. Morally we won. We didn't stop the cold war but we did a lot to prevent the hot war.

FOR the first time in history, civilization has reached a crisis brought about by the development of the means of self-destruction—the hydrogen bomb.

But before our greatly disturbed peace-loving fellow-Americans join with the Progressive Party they will want the facts—not the wild distortions of a prejudiced press—but the actual facts about the attitude of the Progressive Party toward the Communists.

First, it is inevitable that all peace-loving people in times like these should be attacked as communist dupes. Jefferson, Jackson, and Lincoln all suffered from the foulest attacks. Roosevelt and all his closest friends have been and still are subjected to such abuse as to cause all the hardiest souls to refuse to have anything to do with government.

Second, the policies of the Progressive Party are its own. They are determined by its own members acting democratically within their local organizations and through our national convention and elected party committees.

Third, our principles are vastly different from those of the Communist Party. We do not believe in the one-party system of government for the United States. Our philosophy is not based upon the principles of Marxism and Leninism. Our program is based upon reform by constitutional and democratic processes. We believe in progressive capitalism, not socialism.

FOURTH, the Progressive Party calls to the support of its program all those who believe wholeheartedly in it no matter what party they belong to. We will not attempt the purge of any individual because of past or present labels. At the same time, we can't waste our time on endless bickering about fine points of doctrine which have little to do with the present world-wide tragedy. Sectarianism should have no place in the Progressive Party.

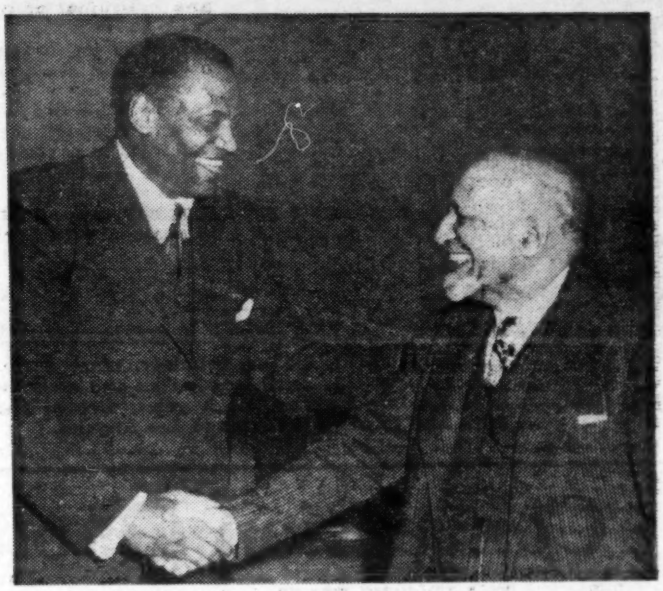
Fifth, as we approach the 1950 elections, the Progressive Party must convince the American people that we are fighting for peace, not because any foreign power wants us to fight for peace but because we understand the deep needs of the American people and the world.

Sixth, the Progressive Party stands for civil liberties for all. Civil liberties like peace are indivisible. We believe in civil liberties in eastern Europe but we recognize that except in the case of Czechslovakia there has been no democratic tradition on which to build. We know that civil liberties will rapidly disappear in the United States as the cold war is fanned into a white heat by H-bomb planning.

The Communists have their party. We have ours. We agree with the Communists that peace with Russia is possible—but that doesn't make us Communists. We agree with the Democrats and Republicans that capitalism can be made to work — but that doesn't make us Democrats or Republicans.

AS a private citizen during the past three years I have tried to promote peace and lay the groundwork for world abundance. As a result I have had as many tons of foul printer's ink and as many vibrations of false air-waves directed at me as any American in history. Out of it all I have gained hundreds of millons of friends abroad while temporarily I have lost millions of friends at home. Both the psychic rewards and the psychic costs have been high.

We Progressives who urged sincere negotiation, disarmament and economic aid through the United Nations were drowned out by the drums of the cold war. But look at the situation today! All of our prophecies are coming true. All of their boasts are failing. They are losing adherents. We are now in a position to gain them. In '48 we lost a battle for votes. Now we are in a position to win a campaign for peace. In '48 opinion was all on their side. Today events are on our side.



TWO GREAT AMERICANS MEET
Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, whose chairmanship of the Resolutions Committee did so much to spur harmony at the convention, greets Paul Robeson

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The heart of Progressive policy

Greater unity to recruit the people in the fight for life against death

By Cedric Belfrage

IN Chicago we feasted on the contact with the best people in America—the Americans who are steadfast in defense of their country's liberties—and on an occasional hamburger snatched in the lobby as planning for a better tomorrow went on in the auditorium. Back in New York a few hours later, in the company of those good warriors of our home town who can't be scared away from building American-Soviet friendship, we partook of the inevitable fund-raising-dinner turkey.

"I am worried," one guest said to me, "about the Progressives' new policy statement. Are we proposing to co-operate in the fight for peace with slanderers of the Soviet Union? How can that be helpful to peace?"

It was a question that had been asked in all earnestness by many delegates in Chicago, during the two and a half days of discussion in committee and on the convention floor that ended in unanimous adoption of the statement on peace. (See "Peace," p. 8, especially paragraphs 5-7).

IT seemed to me that the essence of the answer to the dinner-guest's question was right there in the room, in the person of Richard R. Wood, editor of the Quaker magazine **The Friend.** Oblivious to the official Washington anathema on the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Mr. Wood—one of the authors of the Quaker report on U.S.-Soviet relations which made such a significant contribution to peace last year—had come to talk about peace with members and guests of one of the organizations labeled "subversive" by former Attorney-General Tom Clark.

Mr. Wood had begun his speech by telling the audience, most of whom were there because they thought the Soviet form of government good, that in his opinion it was far short of being good.

Nobody had felt like throwing Mr. Wood out of the room for saying that. Nobody doubted his sincerity and devotion to peace because he had misgivings about the Soviet Union. On the contrary, most of us were thinking: How can we get more people like Mr. Wood, who differ on the Soviet Union but agree on the necessity for peace, to sit down with us and talk about how we can work together for peace?

IN answering the guest's question about co-operation with "slanderers of the Soviet Union," I tried to express what I believe to have been the sense of the Progressive Party convention in adopting its new policy statement on peace:

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- Time is short. The government of the United States is preparing—and will presumably force the Soviets to prepare in self-defense—a device capable of extinguishing all life on earth.
- The reality of peace is worth an infinity of "correct" formulations on paper.
- To the average American, peace—the difference between death and life—is every bit as important as it is to the average Russian. To desire and work for peace it is no more necessary for an American to approve of socialism or Joseph Stalin than it is for a Russian to approve of capitalism or Harry Truman.

Recognition of these realities does not, as I interpret the sense of the convention, mean willingness to co-operate with "slanderers," nor does it mean any lessening of the efforts being made toward better understanding in America of the Soviet people and their government.

BUT we must face the facts of life at least as squarely as the old tory thunderer Winston Churchill, who—concerned primarily with the interests of his own country as he sees them—now favors peace talks with the Soviets because he knows World War III would blow Britain off the map.

We know that in the balance of world peace and war we in America occupy the decisive position. We must know that in America the propaganda against the Soviet Union has been enormously successful. The propagandists are quite aware that the nature of the Soviet state is not the real issue: their success has been in using lies about the U.S.S.R. to deflect ordinary Americans from the real issues they face from day to day.

Rank-and-file soldiers of the Progressive Party know what this false issue has done to block their work of broadening the progressive movement. Over and over again, they find they cannot get past the false issue to talk to people about jobs and living costs and housing and schools.

IN light of these realities it was vitally important that such a policy statement should be made, although from a positive standpoint the question itself is a minor one for progressives.

The statement was made to create greater unity in the party as it now stands. It was a compromise between different points of view, to clear the decks for action on the more important questions.

And it has been made to broaden the party into the politically effective movement it must become. Not to take to our bosom the professional slanderers of the Soviet Union, whom we can all recognize, but to recruit new fighters for peace and abundance from among those millions of decent Americans with sincere misgivings about Russia—misgivings which more often than not are due to never having heard a true word spoken about it.

THERE is not much time to recruit the people of America for life against death. The job is to go out and mobilize every man and woman we can find who is really for peace—peace because WE need it.

There will be plenty of time to argue about our respective systems later—if we prevent war. If we don't, the arguments between atomized adversaries will be, perhaps, somewhat academic.

RESOLUTION ON MINORITIES: Arthur Schutzer, state secretary of New York's American Labor Party (l.), has a session on the flooor with (l. to r.) Fumiko Ishihara and Virginia Ruiz of Los Angeles; George Murphy of New York and Frances Williams of Los Angeles.

Convention Quotes

What we need

By W. E. B. Du Bois
Chairman Resolutions Committee

PUBLIC welfare must replace private profit as the end of effort, and planned economy must bring order and justice out of the anarchy of Free Enterprise and Private Initiative. No pauper is free, no public service can be private, and the sick and ignorant cannot often initiate enterprise.

We need increased government control of land ownership and use; socialized medicine to protect the public health; abolition of slums and publicly subsidized housing on a nationwide scale; unemployment relief, sickness and old age security on levels sufficient for decent life; the protection and subsidizing of workers in any essential industry like farming, which has long suffered from the present organization of industry; and encouragement of all forms of self-help, like consumers cooperation.

Accomplishment

By C. B. Baldwin
National Secretary

HERE we are. Look around you. Twelve hundred delegates from at least 35 states. Hundreds who have traveled thousands of miles to our second convention are the living testimonial that we have accomplished what no third party has been able to do in the last 50 years—to stay alive and active as a national party . . . After two years of continuous attack we have full time organizations in 22 states and live, functioning groups in every other state.

'Join with me...'

By Paul Robeson
National Co-chairman

YES, the Democrats took our platform, mouthed it, confused the American people for a while. But for them time is running short. The rights of labor, indeed! Ask a coal miner starving today in Pennsylvania, Illinois, West Virginia. This coal miner wants no part of a Truman, of an Administration that makes one of its main planks the repeal of Taft-Hartley and then uses Taft-Hartley to destroy labor.

He knows little of theory but sees his children weak and undernourished; he sees his wife bent under her manifold heavy burdens. He sees himself robbed of the fruits of his labor. . . . This miner rightly says: ". . . I want a new setup. I want to join with those who will fight for me, fight for my family and their future."

So he joins today with us Progressives and he'll help us fight the Ober bills, the Broyles bills, wherever they arise. And so it will be with steel workers, auto workers, cotton workers —they will look to us.

LINEUP AT THE MIKE: This was a familiar scene; people had plenty to say. Above they're waiting to say it in the debate on women's rights. L. to r.: Kathryn Shryver, Missouri Progressive Party state director; Bernard Sagik of Champaign, Ill.; his wife Karen Sagik; and Reuben W. Borough of Los Angeles.

Excerpts of the Progressive Party Policy Statement

A program on which all demo

THE Progressive Party presents this policy statement in the firm conviction that the differences between nations which threaten world peace can be resolved only by conference and negotiation and not by force; that our people can enjoy abundance only if the vast resources of our land are used for the welfare of all and not for the profits of the few; that freedom is the inalienable right of every American and not a privilege to be extended to some and withheld from others.

Because the leadership of both old parties has abandoned these principles, we acted in 1948 to found a new party to carry on the fight for peace, abundance and freedom, and adopted a platform setting forth our concrete proposals for their attainment.

TIME and events are demonstrating that the platform adopted at our Founding Convention offers the American people the only alternative to the policies of the old parties which are leading to insecurity, depression, the loss of democratic freedoms and the threat of a war of annihilation.

The Progressive Party was born in 1948 in the conviction that the bi-

Peace

THE policy of the cold war, including the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, the North Atlantic Pact and the arms program, has failed . . .

The Progressive Party reaffirms its conviction that differences between the socialist and capitalist systems of the two nations do not make war between them inevitable; that a peaceful understanding between them is possible, without the sacrifice of a single interest of the American people . . .

The first prerequisite to such an understanding is the abandonment by our government of the policy of the cold war which is proving its bankruptcy, and the adoption of a constructive alternative which has the support of the peace-loving majority of the American people.

The elements of such an alternative policy which has been urged by the Progressive Party since its foundation have now been advanced and discussed by many individuals and groups of widely divergent beliefs . . .

THE Progressive Party makes its contribution to the formulation of such a policy as an American political party, dedicated to the principles of American democracy and primarily concerned with promoting the welfare and protecting the security of the American people.

The Progressive Party recognizes that while the United States and the Soviet Union both made mistakes in foreign policy, these two great countries can rise above their respective shortcomings, to work together fruitfully for international peace and cooperation.

We are not apologists for Russia, but in so saying we want it understood that our supreme objective is one world at peace, and to that end it is essential that an understanding be reached between the United States and the Soviet Union.

AS Americans, our primary responsibility is to work for an American policy that will unite a majority of the American people, regardless of their differences on other questions, and make a peaceful agreement possible.

To that end, the Progressive Party proposes that the United States government take the following immediate steps:

- Propose, within the United Nations, a treaty outlawing all atomic weapons.
- Take the initiative in holding a top-level conference between American and Soviet officials, as suggested by the Progressive Party two years ago.
- Recognize the People's Republic of China and establish normal relations with it.
- Remove the existing restrictions which have all but eliminated trade with Russia and eastern Europe and resume normal trade with these countries.
- Propose a four power agreement reaffirming the Potsdam declaration on the demilitarization of Germany by providing that each of the four powers shall prevent and prohibit the establishment of any armed forces or military formations in its zone.
- Propose, within the United Nations, a treaty providing for the abandonment of all extra-territorial military bases and rights to the use of bases, including bases in colonial countries.
- Support the continuance of the present policy of the United Nations limiting diplomatic relations with the fascist Franco government of Spain, and call upon the President to issue a directive banning all economic aid to that government.
- End the Selective Service Act and not subject American youth to peacetime conscription or peacetime universal military training.

These eight steps . . . will create the climate in which a return to the principles of the United Nations Charter becomes possible and the United Nations can become an effective instrument to protect the peace, promote world economic development through a United Nations reconstruction and development fund, solve the technical problems of international inspection and control of atomic energy, provide for progressive universal disarmament, and put an end to the colonial system.

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- Make farm surpluses av
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- Planned public works t
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ocratic Americans can unite

partisan foreign policy of the United States is leading to war.

We again proclaim that the Progressive Party is an independent, indigenous American party devoted to the revitalizing of democracy through the four freedoms and the attainment of world peace through the process of collective bargaining around the council tables of the United Nations.

IN reaffirming our faith in the American form of government, we declare our opposition to the use of violence in this country as a means of social economic or political change, or to the imposition of dictatorship in any form upon the American people.

The Progressive Party, in second annual convention assembled, reaffirms the platform of its Founding Convention, and adopts this policy statement to emphasize and restate its present attitude toward the great and pressing problems of Peace, Security and Freedom. We offer it as a program on which all peace loving, democratic Americans can unite and work together for the realization of our common goals.

A PLATFORM HUDDLE: Hugh DeLacey, state director of the Progressive Party of Ohio (l.) gets off a good one for civil liberties attorney O. John Rogge (c.) and former Congressman Leo Isacson of New York.

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Freedom

THE fundamental freedoms of a democratic people are written into the Bill of Rights and the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the Constitution. It is the duty of every citizen and of the government to make these rights the common property of all Americans . . . Their denial to any individual or group is an invasion of the liberties of the whole people . . .

Historically, the weakest phase of our American democratic life has been the shameful practice of segregation and discrimination against the Negro people . . .

We call for action now—for passage and vigorous enforcement of federal legislation guaranteeing to Negro Americans the unrestricted right to vote and hold public office in all parts of the nation; equal opportunity to secure a job and be promoted on the basis of ability; freedom from the fear of mob violence and lynching; the right to travel on common carriers without segregation; equal access, without segregation, to all educational institutions and housing.

As first steps in this direction we call for:

- Repudiation of the sham FEPC and passage at this session of Congress of the Powell FEPC bill, the anti-poll tax bill and the anti-lynch bill.
- Home rule for the District of Columbia and a Civil Rights Act for the nation's capital .
- Effective Presidential action to eliminate segregation and discrimination in the nation's armed forces, in all federal agencies and in the Panama Canal Zone.

The economic welfare and political progress of our nation require the elimination of all forms of discrimination against the Jewish, Mexican-American and Puerto Rican peoples, the foreign born and other minorities.

WE denounce the use of violence or intimidation by any individual or group, and particularly their use by agencies of government to suppress political dissent. We declare that the protection of the rights of Communists and all other minority groups, no matter what their economic, religious or political viewpoints, to express and advocate their views is the first line in the defense of the liberties of a democratic people.

We call for the following immediate measures:

- End prosecutions under the provisions of the Smith Act which prohibit the teaching or advocacy of ideas. Grant unconditional pardons and restore civil rights to all persons convicted under these provisions. Repeal this unconstitutional legislation, and defeat the Mundt-Ferguson Bill and all other illegal legislative attempts to restrict freedom of association, opinion, expression or assembly.
- Prohibit the lawless use of the FBI as a political police.
- End the present sweeping loyalty program both as it applies to government employees and workers in private industry. Abolish "subversive lists" set up by the Attorney General.
- End the use of the Department of Justice, grand juries, the courts and the immigration laws to harass, intimidate, prosecute or deport native or foreign born Americans because of union activities or opinions.
- End judicial attacks on the independence of the bar and the right of accused to counsel of their choice through the improper and vindictive use of summary sentences for contempt or the denial, for political reasons, of the right to practice in the courts.
- Abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities and similar state committees which, under the guise of investigating "subversive" activities, themselves subvert constitutional liberties and American concepts of fair play.
- Establish fair and equitable procedures for all legislative investigating committees.
- End the abuse of secrecy which enables major government decisions to be reached without public information and debate.
- Maintain the traditional American separation of church and state and protect the freedom of secular education.

Convention Quotes

Retreat is over

By Elmer A. Benson
National Chairman

THE time of our political retreat is over—come with us, as we move toward the offensive. Yes, you BELONG with us!

Here, in the same city where Abraham Lincoln took his stand for freedom for the Negro slave, I say to you that we, the Progressive Party of the U. S., are the focal point of the Negro for freedom . . .

I am a farmer. I was governor of a great state headed by a farmer-labor coalition . . . Twenty per cent of the population are farmers but they get only 7% of the national income. Have either of the two old parties fulfilled their promises to the farmers? The farmer belongs with us.

Are the men and women who belong to labor unions content to become the labor segment of a party which has betrayed them again and again? . . . It rests with our party to seek out the concrete ways and means of winning America's trade unionists to our coalition of the liberal, progressive forces.

No red-baiting

By O. John Rogge
National Comitteeman, N. Y.

WE shall not indulge in red-baiting, for we know that this leads to the destruction of those who place human rights above property rights. We remember what happened in Nazi Germany, and in Fascist Italy and Spain. We see what is happening here. We see that those who put human rights first are splintering themselves into hopelessness . . .

Just as, on the one hand, we are not going to run when someone uses the labels "communist" or "communist front," so, on the other hand, we are not going to be afraid when someone uses the label "red-baiter."

I have a feeling that there has been a certain amount of tenderness on the part of some of those on the left who are not Communists when it has come to criticizing relevant mistakes of the Soviet Union or of the Communists. I think this tenderness is due to a fear of being called a red-baiter. But we should be as unafraid of that label as we are of the label "communist" or "communist front." They are only labels, and labels show a lack of thinking. We must ignore all the labels and look instead at the issues. We have a tendency to pay too much attention to name-calling and too little to issues.

Earn the right

By Charles P. Howard
National Committeeman, Iowa

WHEN ten Negroes sit in the U. S. Senate and 50 black lawmakers take their place in the U. S. House of Representatives, then possibly American diplomats may have earned the right to discuss with the peoples of the world how to run a democratic government.

We have decided to use every constitutional instrument at our disposal to hammer at the walls of jimcrow until the walls come tumbling down! That's why we turn in increasing numbers to the Progressive Party. The Progressive Party is the party of free speech for the American Negro . . . a party in which we share without stint or hindrance in the determination of all fundamental policies.

Front-door party

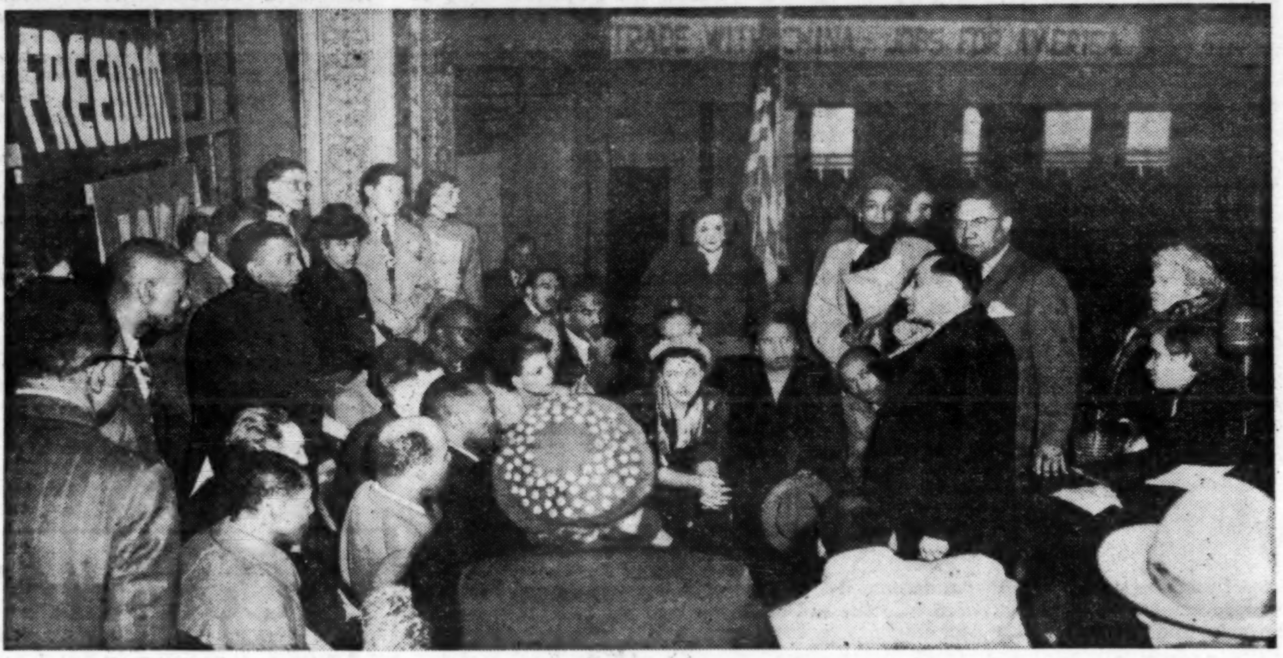
By Senora B. Lawson
National Vice-chairman

THE Progressive Party is no back-door party for the Negro people . . . Last fall I had the honor to run for the Virginia House of Delegates on the Progressive Party ticket. This was the first time that a Negro had run for that office in a general election since Reconstruction, and it was the only time a Negro woman had run for the Virginia legislature. In that election, 20% of all the voters—Negro and white—cast their votes for me on the Progressive Party line. Our party carried every single Negro precinct by as high as 60 to 90% of the total.

SENORA LAWSON
The road from Reconstruction

Delegates report a progressive America on the move

By Barney Conal



A last-minute word from Marc

It was just after the convention had ended on Sunday afternoon and people were scrambling for home. But there was so much still to say. In the back of the hall Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP-N. Y.) stops for a typically Marc session with a group of delegates. Over Marc's shoulder is Charles Howard of Iowa. It was Marcantonio who told the convention: "Wallace will be remembered long after the little alderman in the big White House is forgotten."

THE two-day meeting of the convention's Congressional Campaign Committee heard reports from all sections of the country. State and community leaders brought stirring evidence of the growth of a people's movement for jobs, security and peace, and of voters moving into political action on their own behalf without benefit of the old parties.

The reports pictured an increasing acceptance of the Progressive Party's program, and in many instances of the party itself as voters recoiled from the dead ends they discovered in the old parties' policies.

CLERGY IN BATTLE: The American middle class, which quit the political battlefields under the cold-war pressures on its security, is returning to battle. In the colleges, churches and laboratories of the country the "opinion molders" are retrieving their courage and speaking up against atom-bomb diplomacy and H-Bomb annihilation.

Scientists are taking the lead; aroused clergymen are participating in conferences, signing statements and petitions. Radio broadcasts by men like Albert Einstein, by nuclear physicists Szilard, Bethe, Brown and Seitz, have been paralleled by rousing statements from the World Council of Churches, the Federation of Atomic Scientists, the new Committee for Peaceful Alternatives and a dozen other organizations of intellectuals.

In community after community college professors, writers, artists and local clergy are warning their fellow-Americans, in forums and local broadcasts, that the government's failure to lay aside atomic diplomacy and negotiate peace over a conference table will lead to world disaster. In Congress the pressure for negotiation mounts.

ALL FOR THE MINERS: The strike of 340,000 miners for job security and against Taft-Hartley repressions aroused labor throughout the country. Reluctant CIO and AFL leaders, strung to the Democratic Party's kite, were forced by the pressure of their rank and file to make a show of solidarity and contribute funds and food. Most of the contributions were reported as organized by the rank and file itself.

Despite the road-blocking of supplies to the miners by local Democratic administrations in Pittsburgh, Detroit and elsewhere, trucks with hundreds of tons of food and clothing kept moveing into southern Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Kentucky and the Ohio River Valley.

Progressive Party clubs sparked the strikers' relief campaign in hundreds of communities and used their headquarters as distributing centers.

CHINA & US: On the West Coast, a large portion of the 1,000,000 unemployed have been thrown out of work by the U. S. boycott of trade with China. The longshore and seamen's unions are now being joined by exporters, industrialists and merchants up and down the coast in their demand that trade be reopened. Petitions to Truman and Congress are circulating in all the ports; parades are being held in Seattle, San Francisco and Los Angeles.

NEGRO FERMENT: Negro Americans and their white allies are everywhere on the offensive to wipe out discrimination once and for all. The convention itself was striking proof of Negro voters' disillusionment with the old parties, particularly after the latest FEPC fiasco in Congress. Even the smallest state delegation was likely to have one or more Negro members; larger states had from 10 to 20. What most distinguished the convention was the confident leadership asserted by Negro delegates from the floor and the platform, their first-class citizenship in the party and its leadership.

California's delegation told in the Congressional Campaign Committee how representatives of 150 organizations in and around Los Angeles' 14th Congressional District organized their own coalition of professional, labor, cultural and civic groups in an effort to elect a Negro congressman. Members of all parties, with the Progressives dominant, combined in determination to overcome the two old parties' persistent obstructions to the nomination of a Negro candidate.

In the south the strength of the NAACP's, labor's and the Progressive Party's organizations is being mobilized to register another 1,000,000 voters this year in a 1950 bid to end jimcrow. Political organization has become the password in the Negro quarters of scores of southern communities.

LOYAL COALITIONS: In seven great states the Progressive Party was the dynamo which set into motion informal coalitions of citizens, outraged by the cold-war plague of loyalty oaths, tests, bills and laws.

California's coalition defeated 14 Tenney bills; Ohio's defeated the Bartunek bill; New Jersey's the Tumulty-Mehorter candidate loyalty oath; Washington's and Minnesota's a similar measure; New York's, the Feinberg bill; Illinois pulled the teeth out of the Broyles bill and Maryland's coalition hobbled the Ober Law's progress.

PUBLIC WORKS DEMAND: The spreading battlefields of the unemployed demanding relief and adequate unemployment compensation were brought home to the delegates by a portrayal of the Upper Michigan Peninsula coalition.

Typical of similar independent actions elsewhere, this four-county multi-party organization of businessmen, farmers and trade unionists told the people of the state a story of rampant unemployment, bankrupt merchants and suffering families. It petitioned and won from the State Legislature immediate financial aid and removal of restrictions on relief allotments. It is now asking for a public works program for the iron and copper mine areas, and is likely to get it.

IT DOES MOVE: These samplings do not take into account the hundreds of reported local-area and state-wide actions in which trade unionists, old age pensioners, students, brow-beaten tenants, harassed small businessmen and anxious clergymen are participating.

They do not describe New York's 250,000 tenants organized into 86 Tenant Councils, the impressive Peekskill protests, Chicago defense of Peoria Street's mobbed home-owner, St. Louis progressives' battle against the real estate interests.

But even the samplings are incontestible proof that progressive America has begun to move.

•

Progressive Party Convention photos by Rus Arnold.

RUTH MILLER

She took care of things

The convention arrangements were in the capable hands of Mrs. Miller, wife of Illinois Progressive Party director William Miller.

More—

Progressive Party action and news in the next issue of NATIONAL GUARDIAN.

Convention resolutions on recognition of China; the H-bomb; peaceful development of atomic energy; farm problems, housing, security; other important convention news and actions.

PLUS, post-Convention discussion: socialism vs. progressive capitalism.

Keep in step with progressive affairs in NATIONAL GUARDIAN, America's only national progressive news publication.

The congressional campaign

Candidates will be run in selected districts

THIS was declared the party's first objective in the 1950 campaign: to promote united action wherever possible by peace-minded Americans of whatever party, in support of any party's candidates whose platforms were genuinely progressive. The test: whether the candidate's program helped to serve one or more of the voters' demands for peace, job and social security, equal civil rights for all.

Recognizing the inability of present PP forces to harness all the mounting progressive tide, the convention made re-election of N. Y. Congressman Vito Marcantonio its major national concentration on the congressional level; mapped an all-out effort to rally democratic voters of whatever party in Ohio against Taft; and proposed running its own candidates in selected Districts where its state and local organizations had potential winning votes or genuine balance-of-power strength.

The Congressional Campaign Committee proposed, and the convention adopted, the following flexible tactical approach to the 1950 elections:

1. To concentrate in selected areas where the candidates of the old parties offer the voters no real choice and where a victory or balance-of-power vote for our candidate will help unite and strengthen the progressive forces. There our party will nominate its own candidates for Congressional and state offices.

2. To join with peoples' movements for defeat of the most open and notorious reactionaries.

3. To use our strength and influence in alliance with labor and progressive forces in the old parties to compel the designation of peoples' candidates, or to secure their nomination in Primaries.

4. To influence candidates of the old parties to take stronger positions in issues and secure their commitment to a minimum program.

5. To abstain from dissipation of our forces in contests where neither old party candidate merits our support, and where our strength and the political alignments of the mass of voters do not warrant the nomination of a candidate of our own.

6. To fight for the election of Negro candidates to every level of government office, whether as candidates of other parties, as independents or as Progressives.

(Continued from Page 6)

displayed at the trial of the 11 Communists."

HAYS FIGHTS THE "BUTS": Veteran ACLU Attorney Arthur Garfield Hays countered: "Whenever I hear Louis Waldman speak, I get mad. He is one of the most dangerous men in the U.S. . . . He is a timid American—one who says he believes in the Constitution BUT . . . I wish we could say that we do not prosecute people in the U.S. for political propaganda. I cannot say it because of the prosecution of Communists."

A woman representing the newspaper **Catholic Worker** said she didn't see how any minorities could be safe if Communists and others were denied basic rights. Malin outlined the direction for ACLU activities: protecting labor's rights, opposing loyalty oaths, combating censorship, upholding personal political freedom, abolishing segregation and discrimination.

In the title of the anniversary observance this was frankly called "The Rough Road Ahead."

THE TRIALS

BRIDGES

Meet Mr. Rathborne

WHEN the government rested its perjury case against Harry Bridges, Defense Attorney Vincent Hallinan cried: "What? No Rathborne?" He meant Mervyn Rathborne, former president of the CIO American Communications Association and secretary of the California CIO, one-time friend and associate of Bridges. Rathborne had helped the U.S. prepare its case, was touted as the "star witness."

The U.S. held Rathborne back until the defense rested. Then he was called, after Bridges had spent ten days on the stand. He was led through a long recital: As a Communist, he said, he had attended meetings with Bridges, knew him to be a Communist. (Bridges is accused of denying he was a Communist in obtaining citizenship in 1945.)

EXPUNGING THE RECORD: Then Hallinan showed:

- That the U.S. knew of Rathborne's 1924 conviction for burglary and helped him "expunge" the record.
- That Rathborne had gone to the government (with approval of James Carey, Philip Murray and Joe Curran of the CIO) to help break Bridges.
- That Rathborne had lied repeatedly under oath before congressional committees, by his own admission.

To top it off, Hallinan forced Rathborne to admit he was paid $120 a week by the U.S. for his services: a rate Rathborne said "was fixed to approximate" what he would get if he were working at sea. For a month he was also paid $34 a day as an "expert" witness before the grand jury.

INSECT
POWDER

THE LIST IS LONG: "I suppose you studied up to be an expert?" Hallinan asked.

Rathborne said he had brushed up on his reading aboard ship.

Rathborne added to the list of key governement witnesses who were confessed perjurers and paid informers. The trial was nearing its end.

CHRISTOFFEL

Deadly repetition

OUT of a bitter strike against the Allis-Chalmers Co. in 1947 emerged a fighting young labor leader, Harold Christoffel. He was president of Local 248 of the United Automobile Workers, CIO. Called before the House Labor Committee, he told them he was not a Communist. He was indicted and convicted of perjury. But the Supreme Court ordered a new trial because it was not proved that a committee quorum was present when Christoffel testified.

On Feb. 23 a Washington jury convicted Christoffel again. To correct the error, the U.S. had persuaded 13 past and present congressmen to testify that they attended the crucial meeting. When the defense called for the official congressional minutes, the House passed a resolution saying there were no minutes. To top its case, the U.S. produced Louis Budenz, a veteran anti-Communist witness, to say that he knew Christoffel was a Communist.

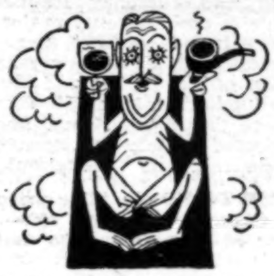
Defense Attorney O. John Rogge promised that the second verdict would also go to the Supreme Court. He called the attack on Christoffel "congressional strikebreaking," and said: "This is a prelude to a new wave of hysteria, particularly against leaders of organized labor.

MEDINA AND MINK

An upright judge

ON March 14 part of the New York City's mink-coat set will gather at a testimonial dinner in the Waldorf-Astoria. The guest of honor—Federal Judge Harold R. Medina—will not be there.

When Common Cause, Inc., a rich man's group formed in 1947 to "combat communism," invited the judge to the dinner, he accepted. James A. Farley (Coca Cola) and John Foster Dulles (International Nickel) agreed to serve as co-chairmen. Attorney General J. Howard McGrath was to be the main speaker.



MAN OF CONVICTION: A week ago the judge reluctantly, belatedly decided his acceptance had been a mistake and his presence might impair public confidence in the courts. It seemed too much, even to him, that the judge who presided at the trials which convicted the country's top Communist leaders should be publicly honored for such service by a professional anti-Red organization. Medina, not Prosecutor John F. X. McGohey, has won prime credit for the conviction.

Common Cause, Inc., announced that the dinner would go on as scheduled; more than 1,000 tickets had been sold at $17.50 each. In absentia, Judge Medina would be presented with a plaque.

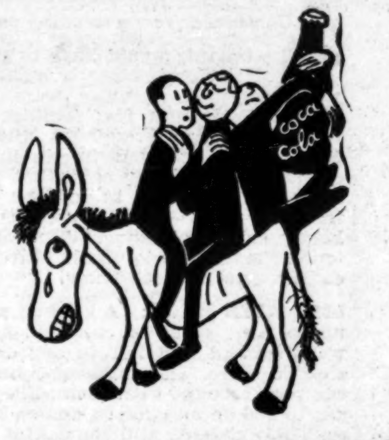
NEW YORK

DEMOCRATS

Coke on tap

NEW YORK State's Democratic nominating convention was still seven months off, but party hopefuls were already jostling each other for position. Out in front last week was Coca-Cola Executive James A. Farley; an upstate boom for him was spreading.

Some Democrats were backing Farley to head off Rep. Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. Others were for Federal Security Administrator Oscar R. Ewing. None of these was taking into account the gubernatorial ambitions of their own State Chairman, Paul E. Fitzpatrick.



Republicans seemed smugly pleased at the Democrats' rivalries: they had Tom Dewey.

JIM FOR ONE: Farley himself struck an early campaign note. Speaking the day after the Progressive Party ended its convention in Chicago, he said: "I for one don't want a third party in this country."

The two-party system was for him because it helps "our nation by promoting unity." A third party, he said, might bring minority rule, make the nation a "prey of demagogues and malcontents."

EVICTIONS

Marc haven

THE blueprints called for an apartment house, warm, well-planned, well-fitted, expensive, on New York's East 79th St. To make way for it the tenements on the site would have to

(Continued on following page)

The strikes in France

Red-baiting is falling flat as French labor unity grows

By Stanley Karnow
GUARDIAN staff correspondent

PARIS

STRIKE fever mounted in France last week as trade unions joined to demand overall wage increases of 3,000 francs ($8.75) a month for all industries.

Attempts by the government and conservative press to label working-class agitation "communist-inspired" rang hollow when Monsignor Maurice Feltin, Archbishop of Paris, announced that he believed labor's demands were justified.

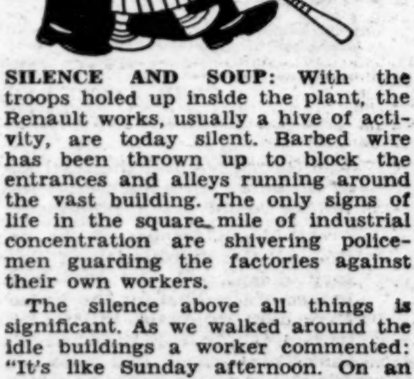
The Archbishop's statement was a reflection of the decision taken by the 800,000-member Christian Workers Federation (CFTC) to concert its strike action with both Communist and non-Communist labor organizations.

COPS ARE IN: Typical was the atmosphere at the Renault plant, at Boulogne-Billancourt in the Paris suburbs. Employing 28,000 men, these factories comprise the largest unit of France's most important nationalized automobile company.

When the Boulogne-Billancourt plant voted to strike early last week, the government ejected pickets and filled the factory buildings with an estimated 5,000 Republican Security Guards—a special armed corps controlled by the Ministry of Interior and used for strikes and other "domestic disorders."

As one Renault worker described the police action: "There were 52 of us doing security picket duty when they arrived. It was 1 a.m. They came in trucks and armored cars, spoiling for a fight. They wanted to shoot someone and scare us into calling off the strike. But we didn't give them the chance. We stepped aside and let them come in. They're inside the plant now—playing cards."

An official of the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) explained further: "The government wanted to play up the idea of an insurrectional strike. In 1947 we stayed in the factories and held off the police for two weeks. They expected we would do the same thing this time, but we don't want to fight them. We just want to make them look silly."



SILENCE AND SOUP: With the troops holed up inside the plant, the Renault works, usually a hive of activity, are today silent. Barbed wire has been thrown up to block the entrances and alleys running around the vast building. The only signs of life in the square mile of industrial concentration are shivering policemen guarding the factories against their own workers.

The silence above all things is significant. As we walked around the idle buildings a worker commented: "It's like Sunday afternoon. On an ordinary day here you couldn't hear the sound of your own voice. Strange to walk around now without having your eardrums blasted by noise."

Except for a few white-collar employes, all Renault workers are out on strike. Strike funds and soup kitchens are being organized by sympathetic municipal governments and private agencies.

UNITY: About 80% of Renault's workers belong to the Communist-led CGT. The others are either unorganized or belong to the Socialist Force Ouvriere, the Catholic CFTC, the Foremen's Federation (CGC), or a small independent group described as "Trotskyist." Despite political animosities, the unions are solidly united on the wage issue.

The strike drive at Renault was being repeated last week at other automobile plants in the Paris area. Citroen, General Motors, Hotchkiss, and over 200 other factories were out on strike.

At the Ford plant at Poissy, on the outskirts of Paris, government militia had taken over factory buildings as a "security measure." Although Ford is a private firm, it was explained that the French government "rents" its troops if the company agrees to pay food and transportation costs. Republican Security Guards—whom one worker described as having "neither parents nor God"—average 25,000 francs ($65) a month plus a bonus of 900 francs ($2.50) a day "while working." The average automobile worker earns about 20,000 francs ($60) a month.

IT'S CATCHING: Throughout France, meanwhile, other industries were preparing to stop work. In Paris, 83% of transport workers voted in favor of immediate strikes, while electricity and gas unions announced similar action. The government and private management repeated the standing offer of 5% wage increase and at the same time started searching for means to keep public services operating.

With labor organizations coordinating smoothly, union leaders looked forward to a limited General Strike—generally estimated to run for a week—which one labor delegate said he hoped would be "impressive but not insurrectional."

(Continued from preceding page)

go. The tenants would have to go first.

On a bitter day early this month they went. Eighteen families were moved into the street. A few families broke up, scattering throughout the city. Several more took apartments in houses with rentals they could not afford. More of them went to the one refuge they knew: the American Labor Party headquarters of Cong. Vito Marcantonio. Marcantonio had staved off earlier evictions for them.

LIFE WITH MARC: A kitchen was set up to feed some 18 children. Clothes were washed and left to dry over an electric stove. The children clung to a cat they brought with them. They were put to bed on mattresses, chairs, benches. Their parents and some ALP workers watched over them. During the night two of the children had to be rushed to the hospital suffering from high fevers.

In the morning ALP representatives led the parents in a delegation to the Housing Authority where the campaign centers.

WEST COAST

DEMOCRATS

We want GOP!

CALIFORNIA politics is traditionally maverick. Candidates jump fences so frequently political races look like steeplechases. From Washington last week came a report that E. George Luckey, vice chairman of the State Central Committee of the Democratic Party, would actively back Republicans Earl Warren and Richard Nixon for Governor and Senator respectively.

A wealthy Imperial Valley rancher and oilman, Luckey of all the California Democrats is rated closest to President Truman, whom he calls "my boy." The San Francisco News' Washington correspondent quoted Luckey as saying that "the better elements in the California Democratic Party were going to contribute to the campaigns of Warren and Nixon, and to work for the reelection of these men."

His main concern, according to the same source, is that California's new Congressional seats under reapportionment shall not be "captured by Socialists or wild-eyed liberals," by which he seemed to mean James Roosevelt.

SOUNDS GOOD: Roosevelt, stumping the state for the Democratic nomination for Governor at June 6 primaries, has been listing unemployment as the state's No. 1 problem with heavy criticism of Gov. Warren's "do-nothing administration." He is for a state planning agency to bring new industry to California, a statewide old-age pension system, increased school appropriations; and against loyalty oaths, increased public utility rates, and crime.

Last week he went on record for trade with China. "All the West Coast and particularly California will be benefitted," he said. He called the present boycott "ridiculous." His hearers applauded. Progressives waited and watched to see if he would follow the logic of his program and modify his support of the cold war.

ALL PRICES SLASHED

LIVING COSTS

U. S. S. R.

Cheaper groceries

STATE stores throughout the Soviet Union were jammed with citizens on a buying spree. All major consumer items were marked down 10 to 14%—the third price-cut decreed by the government since December, 1947. In Moscow the cuts were hailed in vodka and wine (down 49%).

At the same time the value of the ruble was booted from 19c to 25c and put on the gold standard. The price-cuts and currency stabilization (the ruble is now the only major world currency based on gold, not the dollar) came within less than a year of devaluation of the pound and some 30 other currencies, in Marshall Plan countries where prices are rising. The move was expected to help development of Soviet trade relations throughout the world.

TIME TO VOTE: The price-cuts came as citizens eligible to vote—all persons over 18—were about to cast ballots in the election to the Supreme Soviet (Council), the U. S. S. R.'s two-chamber highest legislative body. The vote—for a single list of candidates arrived at after nominations and discussions in all public and working people's organizations—would be secret. Every deputy would be required to report to his electors on his work, and would be liable to recall—a power often used by Soviet citizens.

Pravda and other Soviet newspapers, increased from the normal four pages to six to handle the election news, proclaimed the conviction of most Soviet citizens that their electtoral system is the most democratic and efficient in the world. In U. S. newspaper offices, Russian "experts" stood ready to tell Americans everything except what citizens of a socialist state mean by democracy, and why.

Get double mileage out of your GUARDIAN. Mail it to a friend in a simple, open-end wrapper with a 1c stamp, and recruit another subscriber.

A Negro lad meets the Nordic mind

Andrew Cockrell, the Hitler Youth and the U.S. Army of Occupation

By Lawrence Emery

CORP. ANDREW COCKRELL AND ERNEST GOODMAN

It was just like Texas though they spelled it Stuttgart

ANDREW Cockrell was born near Houston, Tex., 23 years ago; Heinz Sexauer in Bietigheim, Germany, 19 years ago.

Cockrell, a Negro, grew up in a jimcrow land. Sexauer, a "Nordic," grew up in a Nazi land.

Cockrell did well in school, got high marks in two years of pre-medical training, planned a useful career after leaving the U. S. Army. Sexauer mastered Nazi race theories, did well in the Hitler Youth movement.

Last August, on a lonely road on a dark midnight near Bietigheim, these two met for the first and last time. The encounter was brief. When it was over the Hitler Youth was dead.

TWO MEN AND A GIRL: Cpl. Cockrell had been attacked and had resisted in self-defense. The occupation army's charge against him was premeditated murder. It was believed certain he would hang.

Down in Texas Cockrell's parents sought help. A local attorney put them in touch with the Houston Civil Rights Congress. The CRC retained labor attorney Ernest Goodman to fly to Stuttgart to defend their son.

Cockrell, Goodman found, had, during most of his stay in Germany, maintained a close relationship with Trudi Ortler. On the fatal August night Trudi had spent the evening with Sexauer, who was taking her home when she saw Cockrell approaching. Earlier she had told Sexauer of her relations with Cockrell; Cockrell had never heard of Sexauer.

As Cockrell approached them, Trudi ran. The two men came abreast in the dark; Cockrell heard an unfamiliar voice curse him in German; a blow followed. He struck back.

JUST LIKE TEXAS: To Army brass it was a clear case of premeditated murder motivated by jealousy. But attorney Goodman, familiar with many a case of jimcrow justice, checked into the political climate of post-war Germany—and the Nazi training of Sexauer. The attack on Cpl. Cockrell he found easily explained:

"All the bitterness of the occupation, all the humiliation of the military defeat, all the contempt and hatred of the Nazi for the Negro must have been expressed in that attack." In fact, it was little different from all that Cpl. Cockrell had known all his life in his native Texas.

After an eight-day court-martial attorney Goodman succeeded in having the charge of premeditated murder thrown out. But Cpl. Cockrell was found guilty of unlawful killing by an all-white court of nine officers. The sentence: ten years at hard labor.

Even this was a near-miracle in present-day Germany under U. S. occupation. Last month attorney Goodman, home to argue the case further when the sentence is reviewed in Washington, gave the GUARDIAN these impressions of his stay in Germany:

HEIL KKK! "Jimcrow is the established policy of the Army. All Negro soldiers I spoke to want to return to the U. S. Army jimcrow policies have hardened during the past year; the German civilian population has become cooler toward all American soldiers and, in addition, has begun to adopt discriminatory attitudes toward Negro soldiers.

"On the eve of the trial I talked to an old Army man, now employed by the Army as a civilian in a responsible position. He said to me: 'Do you know what we ought to do? We should organize the Klan here in Germany. They would soon take care of things.'

"'How about bringing democracy to the Germans?' I asked.

"'Nuts,' he answered. 'I don't like the Germans any more than anybody else but we are of the same white race and we must not pollute the race with nigger blood.'"

COCKRELL HAS IT NOW: Attorney Goodman found anti-Semitism to be as rampant as ever, with a difference: "The Germans do not consider the Jews to constitute any further problem for them. The Jewish 'problem' has been solved by elimination of the Jews."

He found this about de-Nazification: "I spoke to several German liberals. Their position is most difficult. Journalists who have dug up stories about Nazis returning to influential positions have seen their reports suppressed and soon found themselves out of jobs. One suggested that I try to obtain money from the U. S. to finance a single anti-Nazi German newspaper in the Western Zone."

He quotes a German friend: "'Rather than give jobs to Germans who worked for the American occupation, many employers would rather see them starve. After the Americans leave they will probably call it 'de-Americanzation.' I might be able to send you a postcard from a labor camp in ten years from now'."

Cpl. Cockrell doesn't have to wait. For defending himself against assault by a Nazi, he can write a postcard from a labor camp today.

LIVING AND LEISURE

Adrian Scott says:

Battle of Hollywood and battle of Washington are interlocked

Two years ago the House Un-American Activities Committee swung its bludgeon of hysteria at Hollywood. Ten movie writers, directors and producers were cited for contempt because they challenged the committee's right to pry into their political beliefs.

Recently the New York Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions produced a reversed dramatization of the House Committee's inquisition, with the people in the role of investigators of subversion. One of the "witnesses" was Adrian Scott of the Hollywood Ten. Following, in part, is his "testimony":

By Adrian Scott

IT is not relevant to reconstruct those days in Washington when the gavel of J. Parnell Thomas smashed at the First Amendment. It is relevant only to say that the sub-committee sitting (not one of whom is now in public office) called for a blacklist of men and further called for the industry to join its anti-communist crusade.

FOLLY OF SURRENDER: The film industry, after one pathetic moment of defiance, willingly obliged and has increasingly obliged. Those men who denounced the blacklist as un-American, who stated that they would never be party to a conspiracy, became the committee's willing agents. They fired men. Their mandate was submitted to. The screen by the wholesale suppression of progressive ideas became the advocate of Hitler's folly, the holy crusade against bolshevism; the screen became the propaganda arm of the men who composed the Un-American Activities Committee.

I am mindful of the fact that lately the industry has touched subjects dealing with the Negro. We must applaud the motive, but I am mindful that in treating the subject the industry has fallen into the trap in some cases of reproducing the stereotype which the pictures presumably argue against. I am mindful that these pictures treat of fringe problems and avoid the central issues that govern the Negro minority. I am mindful that it was a cycle—that this cycle is now over. . . .

ADRIAN SCOTT
The struggle for content

The struggle for content in films today is the struggle for content in legislation. They are profoundly interrelated. . . .

CORROSION SETS IN: In 1947, long before Crossfire was finished, we recognized that our responsibility did not end with the projection of one unimaginably small aspect of the gigantic practice of anti-Semitism; we recognized that anti-Semitism must be met squarely, unflinchingly. . . .

Those who would have participated in such projects were placed on what we call the gray list—a group larger than the Ten who cannot work allegedly because they are Communists or because at some undefined future date someone might call them Communists. And those others who would have participated (who can work today) are isolated and paralyzed by the terror that engulfs the motion picture industry. . . .

This corrosive denominator explains the destruction of the Ten. "We are throwing you to the wolves," the producers said frankly, "in order to preserve our freedom later."

This corrosion works elsewhere. To maintain our security, says the FBI, we must listen to your phone conversations. To preserve the law, we must break the law. To Alger Hiss, Harry Bridges, Carl Marzani, to John Santo, to Prof. Rader, on trial, convicted, in jail or deported, we say—to prove perjury we must use perjurers.

THE OBLIGATION CALLS: To the Greek people we say, to preserve your way of life we must support the government now in power. To secure freedom eventually we must practice fascism now. To secure peace, we say to the world, we must prepare for war!

I do not pretend to be an authority on the way other men live. But it is difficult for me to believe that to be a good trade unionist eventually, one must be a strike-breaker first . . . to be a good Christian eventually, one must be anti-Christian first. This is the quality of the witch-hunt—where hypocrisy is virtue, where the lie seeks the truth, where war is peace. . . .

Content in films, content in domestic legislation, content in foreign policy conducive to the best interests of the people can and must be won. . . . There is an obligation upon us to invoke and to act on our democratic tradition. To do so will maintain and add to that tradition. That, too, is an obligation.

Films for progress

16 mm. documentaries—where to get them and how to pick them

The GUARDIAN herewith presents the first of a series of guides to 16 mm. documentary and educational films which can be rented and used effectively for information, entertainment and fund-raising. The author has been visual education director of New York's Hudson Guild; technical director, New York University Film Library; assistant editor of the magazine "Film Sense"; commentary and script writer.

By Philip M. Roberts

UNLESS otherwise noted in the summaries below, all subjects are on 16 mm. black-and-white sound film and must be projected on sound apparatus. Prices listed are for showing on a specific rental date; distributors must be checked for special discounts on extended dates and series bookings. To assure a choice to suit needs, screening is recommended before final booking.

Source numbers in the summaries refer to the following distributors (others are available on request):

1—Brandon Films, 1700 Broadway, N.Y. 19.

2—Contemporary Films, 80 Fifth Av., N. Y. 11.

3—Film Center, 64 W. Randolph St., Chicago 1.

4—N.Y. University Film Library, 26 Washington Pl., N.Y.3.

5—Princeton Film Center, Princeton, N. J.

6—Union Films, 111 W. 88th St., N. Y. 25.

Cold war subjects

ROME DIVIDED: Increasing unemployment and a rising cost of living are less obvious "benefits" of the Marshall Plan to the workers of Italy. Produced by Arthur Gaeth for United Electrical Workers of America. Running time, 10 minutes. Rental, $1.50. Source, 2 and 6 above.

FAILURE IN GERMANY: "Big business remains big business. . . . The architects of Nazi Germany are still in power. . . . We are rebuilding western Germany as a weapon of war against Russia." Arthur Gaeth produced for UE. Running time, 10 minutes. Rental, $1.50. Source, 2 and 6.

THE WORLD IS RICH: So rich that some people have more than they want, while one out of every three dies of hunger or malnutrition. To change all this, the UN Food and Agriculture Organization adapted Henry A. Wallace's "Ever Normal Granary" to a world scale, drew up an impressive plan. Produced by Paul Rotha in 1948 for British Information Service. Running time, 43 minutes. Rental, $6. Source, 1, 3, 5.

Taft-Hartley removers

FOR THE RECORD: Labor speaks up. The story of the fight for higher wages, shorter hours, better working conditions, the right of workers everywhere to gain by organizing. A proud statement. Produced by Brandon Films in 1946. Running time, 18 minutes. Rental, $4. Source, 1, 2, 3.

MEN AND DUST: And high mortality, due to tuberculosis and silicosis. Though the style is self-conscious, the case for lead and zinc miners and their union packs a punch against all anti-labor legislation. Running time, 20 minutes. Rental, $5. Source, 4.

DEADLINE FOR ACTION: To put up a good fight, you have to know your opponents. This expose of monopoly and the men who control big business has proved its worth. The producer, Carl Marzani, is in prison, jailed by witch-hunters. Running time, 40 minutes. Rental, $5. Source, 2, 4 and 6.

Race relations

WHAT'S HAPPENING IN HARLEM: Made for the 1949 campaign of Ben Davis, ALP-Communist candidate for City Council. The film is unique as a record of the issues behind police brutality in every U.S. Harlem. Running time, 12 minutes. Rental, $2. Source, 2.

WITHOUT PREJUDICE: The relationship between accepted "scientific" theories which perpetuate the doctrines of "inferior races" and colonial exploitation is dramatically defined. Story is a biography of the pre-Soviet explorer and anthropologist Nikolai Niclukno-Maclay. Produced in Popular Science Studios, Moscow. Running time, 96 minutes. Rental, $30. Source, 2.

BROTHERHOOD OF MAN: Color is not a true basis for determining an individual's intelligence or ability. This animated cartoon, in color, based on the pamphlet by Dr. Ruth Benedict and Dr. Gene Weltfish, does a lively job of illustrating the common origins and interests of all peoples. Running time, 11 minutes. Rental, $3. Source, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

Stories of people

NATIVE LAND: The U.S. — the people who till its soil, labor in its factories. A story of the continuing fight for civil rights, based on the 1938 Senate investigations. Produced by Paul Strand and Leo Hurwitz, music by Marc Blitzstein, songs and narration by Paul Robeson. Running time, 84 minutes. Rental, $17.50. Source, 2, 3.

THE ROOSEVELT STORY: FDR as the little guy saw him—the man on WPA, the man who needed a Wagner Act, who wanted electricity in the Tennessee Valley, who was heartened by the smiles of FDR and Stalin at Yalta because he felt this would mean peace. Running time, 73 minutes. Rental, $17.50 ($35 if there is a charge for admission or subscription). Source, 1.

THE LITTLE FLOWER AND THE CHIEF
Fiorello LaGuardia and FDR in "The Roosevelt Story"

Film Today
& The Negro People
—a forum sponsored by the Film Division of the N. Y. Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions.
SPEAKERS:
DAN BURLEY, managing editor of N. Y. Age.
JAMES EDWARDS, star of Home of the Brave.
PEARL LAWES, Exec. V.-P. of Congress of American Women.
BEN MADDOW, scenario writer of Intruder In The Dust.
SIDNEY MEYERS, director of The Quiet One.
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General-of-the-Month Club

Our inkstained soldiers and some antidotes

By Fritz Silber

BOOK publishers, magazine editors and newspaper feature syndicates have a new-found love: hot stuff from cold warriors. Gimlet-eyed literary scouts scan the horizons. Is a general about to retire from Germany? Sign him up, with ghost. Is an admiral yielding to the urge to tell all? Right here, sir; check follows.

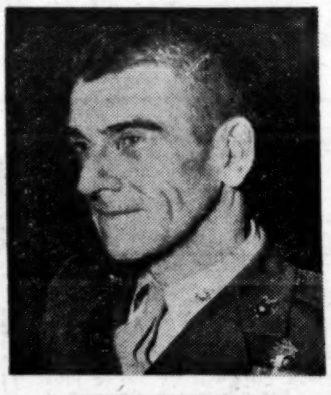
As an antidote to the flood of military memoirs on the why-we-can't-live-with-Russia theme, it is worth recalling that the U. S. has had other army officers who took other views of world affairs.

SIBERIAN ADVENTURE: There was, for example, Maj. Gen. William S. Graves, commander of U. S. forces in Siberia during the Russian civil war. Graves was specifically ordered by President Wilson to avoid interference in the struggle between Reds and Whites. He followed those orders scrupulously through ticklish situations, always fighting off the men in the State Dept. who wanted him to help lick the Communists.

Graves later wrote a book, **America's Siberian Adventure**, which became a valuable source of information on the White Terror. Of Graves, Secretary of War Newton D. Baker said:

"Now that this strange adventure is over, I am more than ever satisfied with the choice of the American commander. A temperamental, rash or erratic officer . . . might well have created situations demanding impossible military exertions on the part of the Allies and particularly of the United States, and involved our country in complications of the most unfortunate kind."

NOW, TAKE HOWLEY: Recently, **Collier's** splashed the memoirs of a World War II U.S. general who depicted himself as temperamental, rash and sometimes erratic. Brig Gen. Frank Howley, former U.S. commander in Berlin, told how he met his first Russian—by knocking him off a car when the Red Army man asked for a lift. At the end, Howley gleefully recounted how he forced martinis on Soviet Gen. Kotikov to aggravate his ulcers.



EVANS CARLSON
No room for tyranny

Howley's memoirs are being published in a book, **Berlin Command.** There's one story he doesn't tell—about the bear emblems on Berlin's railway cars. Howley thought it was a Soviet plot and ordered the Russians to remove it. They laughed him off. The emblem originated in Germany several centuries back.

Nor does Howley recall other things remembered by some who worked under him: his anti-union attitudes, the fact it was difficult for anyone with a Jewish-sounding name to get a job in his command.

CARLSON AND STILWELL: In the hail of literary salvos fired at the Russians, it is worth remembering men like Brig. Gen. Evans Carlson of the Marines, who devoted a lifetime to living with and writing about the Chinese people and their soldiers. In his books—**The Chinese Army, Twin Stars of China**—he reflected deep understanding and sympathy for the people's fight against tyranny and corruption.

Or Gen. Joseph W. Stilwell, whose death revealed him as a salty writing man in **The Stilwell Papers,** edited by Theodore White. "Vinegar Joe" was a man who wanted to get a war won and things done, even if it meant working with Communists.

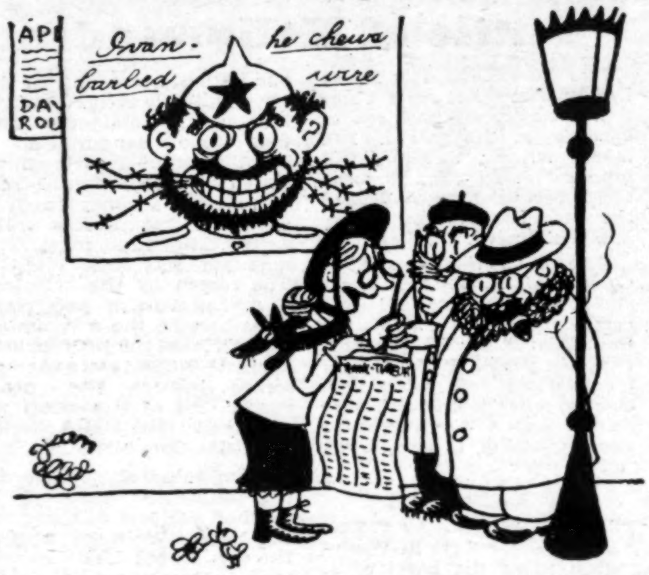
Three years in Moscow—with blinders

What every general should know about Russia

By Jerome Davis

WALTER BEDELL SMITH is an excellent general and a patriotic American. He tries to write fairly* but because he is not familiar with the background of the Russian Revolution he often falls into error. Ambassador Smith seems to feel that U. S. actions are sunshine and light while those of Russia are sinister. In reality his book is a record of failure.

His treatment of religion, culture, industry and agriculture and "the mechanics of a police state" is superficial and not free from inaccuracies, as when he asserts we are feeding half the world. Again, he begins ten chapters by quotations from Neil S. Brown, a Tennessee politician who was U. S. Minister to Russia 100 years ago. The implication is that Russia is as backward today as it was under the Tsar's tyranny. Those of us who studied the situation under the Tsar know this is woefully misleading.


Ivan - he chews barbed wire

Action, Paris

"Look, Stalin wants to re-claim Moscow, Idaho, and St. Petersburg, Florida."

WHAT HE SAW: While the Ambassador did not make trips all over Russia as did former Ambassador Joseph Davies, he saw enough to be convinced of the superb job Russia was doing in abolishing illiteracy and promoting child welfare. But nowhere does he portray the losses Russia incurred in the war. Russia lost one-third of her factories; her casualties were some 15 times greater than those of England and the U. S. combined. Yet at the end of the war, when Russia applied for credits to rebuild her shattered economy, the U. S. never even bothered to reply for over a year, and then coldly refused. Ambassador Smith said he did not expect Stalin to believe the delay was due to the "somewhat incredible explanation that the letter had, in some unaccountable way, become lost in Washington."

WHEN PEACE FAILED: A careful reading of the book shows that we might have had peace with Russia. The long account of Gen. Smith's interview with Stalin indicates that the latter was open for a genuine settlement.

Even at the beginning of the Berlin blockade, Stalin offered to remove all transport restrictions provided the Soviet Zone currency displaced the western mark in Berlin. Gen. Smith thought this proposal promising, but it was later blocked by our insistence on controlling the currency in Berlin.

Gen. Smith charges that communism teaches hatred of the west. "It is this facet of communism that shocks Americans most." Coming from the U. S., where there exists what Dr. Ross, dean of American sociologists, calls "the poison gas attack against Russia" because of false propaganda and hate campaigns, it is a clear illustration of how easy it is to see faults in another group and ignore your own. Personally the reviewer believes that hatred against any human being is to be deprecated.

HOW TO PLANT RUMORS: It is easy to see how hate campaigns and falsehoods against Russia arise in the embassies in Moscow. The Ambassador explains (page 101) some planted fabrications:

> One of the favorite pranks at a large diplomatic party was for an attache, upon entering the room, to confide to a colleagne the most fantastic rumor that he could imagine, so outrageous as to be beyond the limits of possibility. Within ten minutes the story would have made the entire circuit of the room and would be told back to the inventor, usually with some embellishment and all the trappings of complete authenticity. An effort would then be made, of course, to advise those present that the story wasn't true to begin with, but it was not always possible to catch every junior official who had heard it, with the result, no doubt, that some of those whoppers have been solemnly recorded in various Foreign Office Chanceries.

Gen. Smith made the discovery that Russian Communists think capitalism must ultimately fall because of its inner contradictions and weaknesses. Naturally an American Ambassador thinks this a preposterous and evil belief. But it is just possible that the Russians may have some truth as well as error on their side. Perhaps Americans should try to read this book with much the same discernment and caution that they would bring to a volume by, let us say, a former Russian Ambassador.

**MY THREE YEARS IN MOSCOW. By Walter Bedell Smith. J. B. Lippincott Co. $3.75.*

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BASIC FACTS ABOUT USSR—10c; "The Soviet Union Today—An Outline Study"—$1. American Russian Institute, 58 Park Av., N. Y. C. 16.

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CALENDAR

New York

RALLY TO PROTEST HYDROGEN BOMB, also marking International Women's Day on anniversary of Triangle Factory fire, Wed., March 15, auspices Lower East Side Women's Comm. Stuyvesant Casino, 142 2d Av., 8 p.m. Relatives of victims and survivors of fire are invited. Admission 25c.

URANIUM AT BARGAIN PRICES is about the only thing they won't have at the money-saving Civil Rights Congress Spring Bazaar. March 17, 7:30 p.m. to 12 m., March 18, 19, 12 n. to 12 m. Teachers Center, 206 W. 15th St. Admission free. Merchandise donations accepted at CRC offices, 23 W. 26th St. NATIONAL GUARDIAN staff has switched from Saks Fifth to the CRC Spring Bazaar!

FILM TODAY & THE NEGRO PEOPLE — a forum sponsored by Film Division of N. Y. Council of ASP. Speakers: Dan Burley, managing editor of N. Y. Age; James Edwards, star of **Home of the Brave;** Pearl Lawes, exec. v.-p. Cong. of Amer. Women; Ben Maddow, scenario writer of **Intruder in the Dust;** Sidney Meyers, director of **The Quiet One.** Sat., March 11, 2:30 p.m. Skylight Room, Hotel Theresa, 125th St. and 7th Av. Adm. 75c; org. rep's 50c.

GEORGE ORBAN SHOW, pen and ink drawings of "'People of America," by GUARDIAN contributor. 44th St. Galley, 133 W. 44th St., March 7-28.

Baltimore

PEACE CONFERENCE to urge meeting between U. S. and Russia and outlawing of atomic and bacteriological warfare, sponsored by Maryland Comm. for Peace. Sun., March 19, 1 p.m. Dr. Philip Morrison, Cornell Univ. physics professor and GUARDIAN contributor, to deliver keynote address. Contact Comm., 1033 N. Broadway, Baltimore 5, Md.

Boston

MARY VAN KLEECK speaks on "Planned Economy in Soviet Union," auspices Mass. Council American-Soviet Friendship, at Community Church Center, 565 Boylston St. Admission 60c.

Chicago

FRANK MacCALLISTER, dir. Labor Educ. Div., Roosevelt College, speaks on "New World Labor Federation," one of fall series of lectures sponsored by Swedish Educ. League. Fri., March 17, 8 p.m. I. O. G. T. Hall, 1041 Newport Av. Adm. 50c.

SECOND SERIES PSYCHIATRIC FILMS presented by 40th Ward PP. "What's On Your Mind," and "Overdependency" with discussion by psychiatrist Dr. A. Hilkevitch. Sun., March 12, at 7:30 p.m. Albany Pk. Masonic Temple, 4660 N. Kedzie. Admission 75c.

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DOLLAR STRETCHER

Proctor cuts prices

SHARP cuts have been announced on two of the well-made **Proctor** appliances. The **Proctor Guardian** iron, a 1,000-watt four-pound model, has been cut to $6.95 from $9.95. The **Proctor** standard-model automatic toaster has been reduced to $13.95. This makes it not only one of the best, but far the lowest-priced pop-up, except for some mail-order private brands. Discounts are available on both **Proctor** items at many stores.

Shopping questions

TELEVISION: *"I have read your column with interest and admiration. Vim and Davega stores are both offering table model TV sets at very low prices. Are they any good?"*

—H. E., New York City

The low-priced sets are what are known as "metropolitan" receivers. They generally have 16-18 tubes as compared to 24 and up for full-quality sets. The metropolitan receivers have given satisfactory reception near the telecasting center and away from steel structures. Queens is a typical favorable location. But in the center of a large city it's not advisable to get such a set without an unconditional 30-day money-back guarantee.

Teletone offers good value, with its 10-inch table model ($130) and 12½-inch set ($160). Check the private-brand sets offered at moderate prices by Lafayette Radio in New York, Chicago and other cities. The large department stores like the Macy chain and mail-order houses including Sears Roebuck and Alden's also have metropolitans. These are generally receivers made for these firms by **Teletone, Air King, Colonial** and other advertised brands. The **Philharmonic** is another favorably-mentioned low-priced set. The **Hallicrafters** sets, which also appear under private brand names, have previously been criticized for flaws; but trade reports indicate this brand is now improving.

Incidentally, you can cut the costs of a tele set further by getting a discount from a discount house or independent dealer. Vim and Davega often make reductions on sets when customers point out they can get such concessions elsewhere.

DEODORIZERS: *"We used to use* Air Wick *but gave it up because it was too expensive. We then used* Odokill *with satisfaction for a long while (25c instead of 69c for the same size). Now it has become impossible to find in the stores."*

—I. R. K., Philadelphia

Generally, all such deodorants do is overwhelm one odor with another, more powerful one. Adequate ventilation and sanitation are the only real solutions for household odors. For places difficult to ventilate, like bathrooms or small kitchens, devices containing carbon will help. These are obtainable in drug and hardware stores.

MODELING CLAY: *"You mentioned a modeling clay,* Elastic Plastic. *I have shopped for it in various stores but can't find it."*

—Mrs. C. S. A., Brooklyn

It's available in many toy shops. You may order it by mail from Arts Cooperative Service, 340 Amsterdam Av., New York.

PRE-FAB FURNITURE: *"Where can I get the pre-fab bookcases and wall units you mentioned?"*

—Mrs. W. E. W., Freehold, N. J.

Two sources that sell such units by mail are the Wood Market, 3 North St., Mount Vernon, N. Y., and Klaus Grabe, 730 Lexington Av., New York. The Wood Market has prefabricated two-shelf modular bookcases in two-, three- or four-foot lengths, ready for home assembly. It also prefabricates wall units to the buyer's sketch. Grabe sells prefabricated webbed chairs, occasional tables and other living room furniture.

Pots & Pocketbooks

Buy it fresh!

By Charlotte Parks

"A WOMAN can throw out with a spoon more than a man can bring in with a shovel." So said Ben Franklin. Beating the high cost of living these days is more exciting than canasta. We are in a period when a little knowledge of marketbag economics will keep money in our pockets. Watchful shopping is the word.

GOOD BUY FOREVER: Packaged, frozen and standardized goods are still at peak prices.

The bargains lie in fresh fruits, vegetables, fats, oils, eggs and chickens.

Why get canned apple sauce at the price you paid months ago when fresh apples are cheaper and better? New York public school children receive two big apples a day, for free, but millions of other kids don't know the joy of sinking teeth into a fine apple. Today you can get good New York McIntoshes for 5c a pound or less, and one apple is almost equal in food value to a potato.

HIT THE DOWNBEAT: Lard is down 34.1% since yast year, margarine 24.2%, butter only 3%. This means that homemade cakes are cheaper than chain store products. The housewife can now get back to her old stunt of turning a simple meal into a feast by topping it with pie, pudding, cake or cookies.

When shortening and sugar were rationed, "mixes" made some sense. But don't let the fancy advertising psychologists lure you into paying double prices for dubious time-savers. Make every trip to the store an expedition of practical value. Learn to acquire a guilt complex every time you buy canned spaghetti, potato salad or gravy.

Now they're putting packaged cream sauce on the counters at several times the home-making cost. Leave such frills to the women whose money grows on trees.

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THE EDITORS

National Guardian, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N.Y.

Victory in the coalfields

Why the miners wouldn't yield

"When my man's lungs got so bad he couldn't work, the company put us out of our house. We had to live in a shack and go on relief. It's been a lot better with the welfare fund," said Mrs. Michael Buljat, wife of Jefferson, Pa., miner.

Photos and story

By Esther Handler

GUARDIAN special correspondent

MATHER, PA.

GRIM faces of hungry people, gaping windows of empty stores, crowded relief offices, beer parlors where men silently played checkers and drank a little beer—all told of the month-long strike that gripped the desolate mining towns of western Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia.

But nowhere in the bituminous coal fields was there a sign that hunger, Taft-Hartley injunctions or court actions could persuade the miners to dig coal without a contract. Their stubborn position was backed by bitter memories of pre-union days:

"Before the union we couldn't talk without company spies listening under our window," declared John Pavlin, Mather, Pa., miner who has been digging coal for a quarter of a century.

With loyalty typical of miners' wives, Mrs. Pavlin added: "If they lose the union, they might as well not go on living . . ."

The young miners felt the same way. Recalling long periods of hunger in his childhood, when his father was out of work or broken in health, a young Robena miner remarked: "It's better to starve fighting than to starve working . . ."

In their words as in their faces were expressed anger, bitterness and defiance—but above all belief in their fight and confidence that it would end in victory. And it did.

"It's a poor man who starves to death working," an old timer remarked bitterly as he looked out of a window on an idle mine from the back room of a Masontown, Pa., beer parlor.

"Have you ever been in a sewer? Well, that's what a mine is like. I bet those guys who were judging us wouldn't go down where we work for $1,000 a day," declared a youthful Robena miner (second from right).

"If we hadn't stayed out we'd have lost everything we've gained. I'm not taking my sons back into those mines to conditions I once knew," said UMW committeeman Virgili Disidoro (plaid shirt) of Mather, Pa., father of five miner sons.

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The Progressives come of age

(Continued from page 1)

next American party. I'm proud to be a Progressive."

Henry Wallace was greeted with the usual standing ovation and "Glory, Glory, Hallelujah." The chant, familiar in Chicago in 1944 and again in Philadelphia in 1948, went up spontaneously: "We want Wallace!"

Wallace made it clear he hopes the party will now broaden out to embrace new forces. The delegates approved unanimously a policy statement endorsed by Wallace intended to open the road for a "wider coalition."

There were two hours of debate over a peace plank in the policy statement which press prophets had predicted would split the convention wide open. Leon Strauss, ALP delegate and member of the Fur & Leather Workers, typified the underlying spirit of unity which ran through the entire parley: "I don't agree with every word of it. But I intend to vote for it because I believe it stands for a minimum policy around which our party can rally millions of American people. In the spirit of unity it should be passed." And it was.

As Dr. W. E. B. DuBois said: "The persons who support this platform do not agree in all matters and have many minds as to wrongs and remedies. But here are set down the matters on which we do agree; and to the support of this platform we seek the votes of all."

The convention re-elected Elmer Benson as national chairman. Named co-chairmen were Paul Robeson and Fred Stover. Elinor Gimbel, Hugh Bryson, Senora Lawson and Christine Walker were chosen vice-chairmen; Corliss Lamont, treasurer; and C. B. Baldwin, secretary.

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